BUNDELA NOBILITY AND CHIEFTAINCY UNDER THE MUGHALS

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BY

AMIR AHMAD

Under the Supervision of

Dr. AFZAL HUSAIN

(READER)

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Dedicated

to

Honourable Vice-Chancellor

Janab Manzoor Ahmad (I.P.S.)

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Certificate

The thesis entitled **Bundela Nobility and Chieftaincy Under the Mughals** being submitted by **Amir Ahmad** for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in **History** to the **Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh,** has been conducted under my supervision and embodies his own original work.

Dr. AFZAL HUSAIN
Supervisor

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The organisation of the nobility was one of the most important institution devised by Mughal Emperors. It played a significant role in the growth, organisation, administrative structure, social and cultural life of the Mughal Empire. Without a proper study of the character, organisation, composition and role of the nobility our understanding of the many aspects of the Mughal empire will remain incomplete. Scholars working on the Mughal history realised very early the importance of the study of the nobility and in almost all the important works the role of nobility was pointed out. However Satish Chandra in his *Parties and Polities at the Mughal Court* (1707-1740) for the first time analysed in detail the role of the nobility during the period of the later Mughals. His work was followed by M. Athar Ali's *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb* and *The Apparatus of Empire*. Several other research papers and monographs on the nobility of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan have also been published.[1] In recent years the trend is to study separately the position of various racial, religious and ethenic groups present in the nobility. Full length studies have been made on Iranis, Turanis and Rajput nobility during various period of Mughal rule. Not only that monogrphs and research articles on important nobles and family groups of nobles have also been published.[2]

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1. Syed Nurul Hasan, 'New Light on the relation of early Mughal rulers with their Nobility', *Indian History Congress*, 1944.

—, 'The theory of Nur Jahan Junta a critical examination', *Indian History Congress*, 1958.

— Afzal Husain, 'Provincial Governors under Akbar', *Indian History Congress*, 1970.

—, 'Growth of Irani Element in Akbar's Nobility, *Indian History congress*, 1975.

—, 'Element of Continuity and Stability in Mughal' Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir, *Studies in History*, vol II, No. 2, 1980.

Ahsan Raza Khan, 'Gradation of Nobility Under Babur, *Islamic culture*, vol. XI, No. 1, January, 1986

2. Afzal Khan, *Irani Nobility under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.*

U. N. Upadhay, *Irani Nobility Under the Mughals.*

Much works have been done on Rajput nobility in general as well as on important Rajput clans. For example, we have detailed works on Kachhwahas of Amber, Sisodias of Mewar and Rathors of Marwar (Jodhpur) etc.[1] In these studies on the one hand the history of the clans have been discussed in detail on the basis of local sources and on the other hand their role in the Mughal politics has also been analysed on the basis of local sources, Persian chronicles and archaival materials.

But it is indeed surprising that no detailed study of the Bundela nobility and chieftaincy in the Mughal period barring one or two articles[2], have been published although they also claimed to be Rajputs belonging to one of the thirty six clans of Rajputs. In recent years B. D. Gupta has published two books—*Life and Times of Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela* and *Chhatrasal Bundela* (Hindi). As the title of books indicate the work cover the same period and

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— Iqtedar Alam Khan, *Political Biography of a Mughal Noble, Munim Khan Khanan.* (1497-1575), Aligarh, 1973.

—,'Nobility Under Akbar and the Development of his Religious policy 1560-80', *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society,* 1968.

Irfan Habib, 'The Family of Nur Jahan during Jahangir's reign a political study, *Medieval India, A Miscellany,* Vol. I, Aligarh, 1969

—,'The political Role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Walinllah, *Enquiry.* 6.

Radhay Shyam, *Life and Times of Malik Ambar, Delhi,* 1966.

I. H. Siddiqui, *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Etites,* New Delhi, 1983

R. P. Tripathi, 'Akbar and Maham Anga', *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. II, 1932.

Afzal Husain, *Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir (A study of Family Groups)* Delhi, 1999.

1 . Ram Karan Asopa, *Mewar Ka Mool Itihas* (Hindi) 1939.

V. S. Bhargawas, *Mewar and the Mughal,* Delhi, 1966

Ahsan Raza Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the Reign of Akbar, Simla, 1977.*

Rifaqat Ali Khan, *Kachhwahas Under Akbar and Jahangir,* New Delhi, 1976.

Rajiv Narain Prasad, *Raja Man Singh of Amber,* Calcutta, 1960

G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughals,* Shiv Lal Aarwal & Co. 1962

Satish Chandra, *Marwar Under Jaswant Singh* (1658-1678)

G. D. Sharma, *Rajput Polity : A Study of Politics and Administration of the state of Marwar,* Delhi, 1977.

Afzal Husain, 'The Position of Racial Groups in the Mughal Nobility', *U.P. Historical Review, v.d. II,* 1983.

2 . K. K. Trivedi, 'Rajput Class in the Mughal Nobility. The Bundela case, *IHC* Bhubaneshwar, 1977.

Abha Singh, 'Rebellion of Jujhar Singh—A Re-Appraisal, *IHC,* 1990.

focusses mainly to Chhatrasal's attempts to establish an independent Bundela kingdom. These books hardly examine the role of Bundela chiefs and nobles during the periods of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Actually these aspects are beyond the scope of the books. Some other modern works like W. R. Pagson's *History of the Bundelas* and Pandit Kishan Narayan's *Tarikh-i-Bundel khand wa Jalaun*[1] also broadly deal with the period of the decline of the Mughal empire. Moreover both works heavily rley on *Chhtra Prakash* and other local sources. Besides that in almost all modern works on Mughal empire too the role of the Bundelas has been mentioned briefly, and that too is limited to a discussion on the murder of Abul Fazl by Bir Singh Deo or revolts of Jujhar Singh, Champat Rai and Chhatrasal.

In view of the above facts in present work an attempt is made to present a detailed study of Bundela nobility and chieftaincy from the time of their admission to Mughal service to the death of Aurangzeb.

We have divided our work into five chapters. In the first chapter besides discussing the topography of Bundelakhand region which included the states of Orchha, Datiya, Chanderi and Mahewa we have also prepared a brief history of the Bundelas from 12th century to 1554 when they settled in this region; although this period is not the theme of the present work. But even for this period we have no detailed work except brief references in *Bir Charitra, Chhatra Prakash* and *Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela.* For better understanding of their position during Akbar's reign and the nature of conflict that ensued it was

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1 . B. R. Andhare, *Bundel khand under the Marathas (A study of Maratha-Bundela Relations)*, Nagpur, 1984.
Shyam Narain Sinha, *The Revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand*, first ed., Lucknow, 1982
Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, 2 vols.
J. N. Sarkar, *Life and Tiems of Shivaji.*
G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II.

important to prepare an account of their activities in Bundelkhand region during Sultanate period and specially under the Lodis and the Surs when they not only expelled the Chandelas and Khanagars but also encroached upon the territoreis of the Sultans of Delhi and Surs.

In the second chapter we have discussed the history of Orchha state from the time of Madhukar Shah to Udwat Singh (1554-1707) the contemporary of emperor Aurangzeb. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part we have discussed the circumtances leading to the admission of Bundelas in Mughal services, emergence of Orchha as a vast and powerful state under Bir Singh Deo and revolts of Jujhar Singh. Although during this period Bundelas became quite influential at the Mughal court but several Bundela chiefs also rebelled. In the second phase the Orchha state became small because large parts of its territoreis were confiscated but the number of Bundela *mansabdass* increased and during the reign of Aurangzeb they came to enjoy unique positon at the court. During this phase their total *mansab* and numerical strength substantially increased in comparison to other clans of Rajputs.

As mentioned above Orchha had become a large and powerful stae under Bir Singh Deo; and after the accession of Shahjahan Jujhar Singh twice rebelled and created very serious situation for the empire. Shah Jahan on the one hand sent military commands to suppress the revolt and on the other hand decided to curtail the resources of the kingdom in such way that in future they may not be able to create such problem. Therefore in 1629 he seperated Datiya from Orchha and assigned to Bhagwan Das who was recognised as hereditary ruler. In the third chapter we have discussed in detail the career of Datiya chiefs specially Rao Subhkaran and Rao Dalpat.

In 1605 Jahangir appointed Bir Singh Deo as the ruler of Orchha after dismissing Ram Shah. But Jahangir wanted

to have friendly relation with Ram Shah also. Therefore in 1611 Ram Shah was assigned Chanderi and its adjouning areas and he was recognised its hereditary ruler. In the fourth chapter we have discussed the career and achivements of Bundela chiefs of Chanderi with particular reference to their relations with Orchha, Datiya and Mahewa. Besides that we have also discussed the role of Chanderi chiefs in the contemporary political development at the Mughal court.

In the fifth chapter we have studied the career of the chiefs of Mahewa. The situation of Mahewa was a little different to Chanderi and Datiya because Mahewa was a part of the kingdom of Orchha and Rudra Pratap who was founder of the kingdom of Orchha himself in 1631 granted Mahewa to his son Udaijit. Since then according to *Vanshavali* and local sources the kingdom was ruled by Udaijit's family. However we have no information in any contemporary or near contemporary sources about the chiefs of Mahewa till the rise of Champat Rai. We have discussed in this chapter the career and achievements of Champat Rai and Chhatrasal with special reference to their struggle against Mughal rulers.

In the conclusion realising that such a study might be one sided we have tried to look the Rajput nobility as a whole while assessing the role of Bundela nobles and for this we have prepared list of Bundela nobles along with their *mansabs* from the time of Akbar to Aurangzeb and a seperate list of nobles of Orchha, Datiya, Chanderi and Mahewa and *mansab* of Kachhwahas, Rathors and Sisodias during the period of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. A detailed family chart of the Bundela chiefs of different houses has also been prepared.

CHAPTER I

(i) HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF BUNDELKHAND

Bundelkhand lies between the river Yamuna on the north, Jabalpur and Sagar divisions of Madhya Pradesh on the south, and river Kalisindh on the west and on the north-west and the river Tons and Vindhya (Mirzapur) hills on the east.[1]

During the Mughal period the region of Budelkhand comprised portions of Mughal *Subas* of Allahabad, Agra and Malwa, and it was covered with sloping hills, thorny bushes and dense forest.[2] Although four types of soil called *Mar, Kabar, Parua* and *Rakar* are found in the region but because of scanty rainfall the land was not fertile and suitable for agricultural purposes and only maize, jawar and bajra could be grown.[3] Althouth rivers like Betwa, Narmada, Dhasan, Yamuna and a number of their tributories passed through Bundelkhand, but these were not very useful for irrigation because they remained dry for most part of the year.[4] Therefore, for providing drinking water and irrigation Budela rulers specially Bir Singh Deo constructed a large number of lakes and tanks. According

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1. The boundary of Budelkhand is described with slight variations. According to Canningham (*The Ancient Geography of India,* ed., Surendra Nath Majumdar Sastri, Calcutta, 1944, Vol. I. p. 555) the eastern boundary of Bundelkhand had been upto the river Betwa. For political geography of this region also see, *Banda Collectorate Pre Mutiny Records,* File, 1-22; *History of the Bundelas,* reprint Calcutta, 1928, p. 130; E. T. Atkinson, *Account of the North Western Provinces of India (Bundelkhand Series),* Vol. I Allahabad, 1876, p. 01; James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central Western Rajput States of India,* Delhi, 1978, p. 01; R. V. Russell and Hira Lal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India,* vol. IV Delhi, 1975, p. 438; W. Irwine, *The Later Mughals* ed. J. N. Sarkar, Delhi, 1921, vol. II, P. 216; *The Gazetteer of India,* vol. I. p. 42. For a detailed discussion on the role of topography in its historical perspective see, Lucein Febre, *A Historical Introduction to Geography,* 1950, pp. 8-1-; Cordington, k. de. B, *A Geographical Introduction* to the *History of Central Asia.* G. J., 1944, pp. 27-30

2. Lahori, *Badshahnama,* ed. Kabir Al-Din Ahmad and Abdul Ali Rahim, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1866-72, Vol. I, (b), pp. 103-6; Inayat Khan (Muhammad Tahir), *Shahjahan Nama,* I. O., 331, pp. 156-57; Tavernier, *Travels in India* (1640-47) tr . Ball, revised, Croooke, Vol. I. 1997, pp. 50-51; Atkinson, p. 54; Spate, O.H.K., *India and Pakistan,* 1954, see, "Introduction" p. XXXI, *Imperial Gazetteer of India, IX, pp. 73-74*

3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* pp. 75-5; Atkinson, p. 54; W. Burns, (ed.). *Sons of the Soils,* 1941, p. 46

4. Lahori, I (b), p. 107; Inayat Khan, p. 156; p. 51; *Imperial Gzetteer of India,* p. 72.

to *Bir Charitra,* Lahori and *Masir-ul-Umara* Bir Singh Deo constructed a large number of tanks and dams in his state. Among the large tanks built by him were Shersagar and Samudrasagar which had circumferences of $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 royal Kos, in the *pargana* of Jathara. The other tanks constructed by him for preserving water were Bir Sagar and Bijaysagar (near Mahewa).[1] Besides these a number of terraced dams across hill streams were also built by him. These artifical lakes, tanks and dams provided irrigation facilities and also defended state in the times of external invasion; the enemy could be deprived of its source of water and an encampment could be swept off by creating breach in them.[2]

But in spite of constructing such a large number of dams and tanks by Bir Singh Deo the problem of water was not completely overcome during the period of our study. This fact is also corroborated when we see that for economic growth even after the custruction of the dams at Matatila, Arjun and Rangawan in the region of erstwhile Bundelkhand this problem could not be solved.[3]

No contemporary or near contemporary sources of Mughal period provide statistical data about the population of Bundelas inhabiting in the Mughal *subas* of Allahabad, Agra and Malwa, From the Census of 1891 it is clear that the population of Bundelas was not very large. On the basis of the foregoing discussion about the topography of the region it may be concluded that inspite of favourable land

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1 . Keshao Das Mishra, *Bir Singh Deo Charitra*, ed., Vishwanath Prasa Mishra, Allahabad, 1959, pp. 547, 74. The author Keshao Das who composed *Bir Singh Deo Charitra* was the court poet and also the commander of Bir Singh Deo. This poetical work written in Bundelkhandi language is very useful for the political activities of Bir Singh Deo during 1592-1606 and for the development of cultural life in the sate of Orchha; Lahori, I (b), p. 122; Inayat Khan, pp. 161-62; Muhammad Salih Kambu, *Amal-i-Salih*, ed. G. Yazdani, Bib., Ind., Calcutta, 1923-46, vol. II, p. 95; Shahnawaz Khan, *Masir-ul-Umara*, ed. Molvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1888, vol. I. pp. 424-25; V. A. Smith, *History of Bundelkhand*, ASBJ, 1902, p. 114.

2 . Inayat Khan , pp. 161-62; Bhim Sen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*, p. 3a; K. Quanungo. *Sher Shah and His Times*, first ed., 1964, p. 430

3 . M. L. Nigam. *Cultrual History of Bundelkhand*, Delhi, 1983, p. 5

man ratio of Bundelkhand the density of population must have been very low.[1]

As discussed above the major part of Bundelkahand comprised hills, deep river beds and dense forest. The region therefore was most suitable for guerilla warfare. The Bundela chiefs who were adept in it successfully harassed invading Mughals armies, and the Mughals were forced to seek the support of other Bundela nobles for suppressing their revolts.[2]

During the Mughal period the Bundelas were the most powerful clan and dominated the region of Bundelkhand. Besides them the other races and tribes who inhabited the region were Agarias, Bhumyas, Baigas, Ghasias, Gonds, Kols, Korwas, Oraons, Paraliyas and Sahariyas.[3]

The topography of Budelkahdn discussed so far clearly shows that it restricted the economic growth of the region. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people and land revenue the main source of income of the rulers. But as mentioned above due to adverse agricultural condition neither the peasants nor the ruling class survive fully on it. The Bundela chiefs who had large areas under their possession could not maintain large military contingent. Due to this the inhabitants of the region were compelled to depend largely upon their neighbours for thier livelihood. Even the Bundela chiefs used to attack neighbouring fertile territories, speically of Gond chiefs, and the caravans of merchants who passed through thier land to supplement their income. This practice of the Bundelas seems to have greatly affected their prestige and apparently this was the reason of their being looked down by the wealthy Rajputs of Rajasthan (of Ajmer *suba* of the Mughlas) and being called as '*hilli-*

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1 . W. Irwine, *The Later Mughals*, II, p. 217, on the basis of the Census of 1891 he has estimated the total popultion of the Bundelas inhabiting in the districts of Banda and native Bundelkhand to 1,00,000. The population of the Bundelas who resided in other places of Sagar and Damoh is not known because for these two places we have no authority to estimate their numerical stength. For a good discussion to estimate the population of different places during the Mughal period see, W. H. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Cambridge, 1929; Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1556-1707), Bombay, 1963

2 . See Chapters II and V

3 . Amir Hasan, *Meet the U. P Tribes*, The Academic Press Gurgaon, 1982, p. 11

kohi'. These attacks of the Bundelas on their neighbouring chiefs who had also accepted the overlandship of the Mughals led to military actions by the Mughal emperors which ultimately led the rebellions of the Bundela chiefs.[1]

Although the nature deprived the people of Bundelkhand of adequate means of water it blessed the region with varied scenic beauties. From the accounts of Lahori, Salih and Bhimsen we come to known that the places like Orchha, Datiya, Dhamuni, Bhander were important sites of pleasure due to abundant number of lakes, streams rising from hills, tanks (natural and man made) gardens and varied types of funa and flora. For example, Datiya was an important hunting ground. The Mughal Emperors, princes as well as nobles frequently visited these places for entertainment and on hunting tours.[2] In recent years also specially Orchha has emerged as an important tourist centre.

(ii) EARLY HISTORY OF BUNDELAS (Up to 1554)

The Bundelas belonged to Gaharwar tribe of Rajputs. The first well known ruler of the dynasty was Kasi Raj, popularly known as Pancham who came to Bundelkhand from Benaras at the time of the conquest of northern India by Muhammad Ghori in the closing years of twelfth century.[3]

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1 . See the coming forth chapters. Also see, *Sher Shah and His Times*, pp. 429-303 *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* IV, pp. 412-38.

2 . Lahori, I (b), p. 122; *Amal-i-Salih*, I. P. 307; *Dilkusha* p. 3a.

3 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 486; *Dilkusha* p. 5a; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 04; *Masir-ul-Umara* I. pt. I. p. 105. Sir Herbet Rislay and N. S. Meyer, ed. *The Imperial Gazeteer of Inida* vol. IX, reprint. pp. 69-70; W. Grooke *The Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provines and Oudh*, reprint, Delhi, 1974, p. 163. Taking into account Mirzapur tradition, Crooke mentions that the Bundelas are descendent of a family of Gaharwar Rajputs, of village Gaura, near Vindhyachal. Of their ancestors one took service with the Raja of Panna, an independent state between Banda and Jabalpur. The Raja died childless, and Gaharwar advanture took possession of the fort. They treated themselves superior to other Rajput clans like Baghelas, Dars, Gaur, Umath or Sengar who are known as Sakuri group. Contrary to this R. V. Russell and Hira Lal in *Tribes and Castes* of *the Central Provinces of India*. IV. pp. 412-38, mentions that the Bundelas held an inferior positon and were of impure blood among the other traditional Rajputs who are divided into thirty six great clans or races, D.L. Drake. Brackman. comp. and ed., *Jhansi Gazetteer*, reprint Allahabad, *1929, p. 175*. Irwine (*The Later Mughals* II, P. 217) has given some authentic ground in support of the origin of Bundelas from Benaras and for belonging to the Gaharwar tribe of Rajput. He mentions on the bais of the the Census report of 1891 that out of the total number of Gaharwars in the united proviness of Allabahd and Agra (53,477) we find fully half (26,832) reside in the two districts adjoining Benaras namely Mirzapur (20,249) and Ghazipur (16,583). The first tract is in *pargana* Marhaich, south of the Ganga, midway between Benaras and Ghazipur.

His successors after expelling Chandelas and Khangars who were the dominent chiefs of the region established their rule in the Bundelkhand region in the later half of the the thirteenth century. It seems because of their long rule in the region of Bundelkhand they were more popularly called as Bundela Rajputs.[1]

According to *Chhatra Prakash* Virbhadra the successor of Pancham, defeated Sattar Khan, imperial officer posted in Bundelkhand region in an open battle. He also conquered the fort of Kalpi from the Kalachuri ruler and established his power at Kamrohoni (Mahoni) in Jalaun district.[2] Sometimes in the latter half of the thirteen century his successor Sohanpal fought a battle with Khangar king Hurmat Singh and transfered his capital from Kamrohoni to Garh-Kurar.[3] Shortly afterwards he also brought the entire Khangar kingdom including Jaitpur, Jhansi and Orchha udner his control. Later on another ruler of the dynasty Medni Mal added Sinhora and Mahoba to his kingdom.[4]

From the details of *Bir Charitra, Chhatra Prakash* and *Bundela Vanshavalis* it emerges that from Pancham to Malkhan Singh about ten Bundela chiefs (Virbhadra, Arjunpal, Birbal, Sohanpal (d. 1299), Sahjendra (1299-1336), Nanak Deo, Prithi Raj (1360-1400), Medipal (1400-

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1 . *Bir Charitra* p. 486; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 05, in detail mentions the early life of Pancham and the harden attitude of his eleder brothers and his depreivation from the property of the family after his fathers death. His visit to the goddess Vindheya Vasini for justice and his severe devotion and so forth.For the history of the Chandelas, see. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 140; Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 394, and 'A contribution to the History of Budelkhand,' JASB, part I. 1881, pp. 1-53; N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas*, Calcutta, 1956

2 . *Bir Charitra*. p. 486; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 05, *Archeological Survey of India*, II, p. 453; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* vol IX, pp. 69-70; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, vol. XXIv, p. 175, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, I. p. 96; Tribes and castes of the Central Provences of India, vol. IV, p. 438; Uttra Pradesh District Gazetteer Jhansi* of Esha Basatn Joshi, vol. XXIV, Lucknow, 1965, pp. 31-35.

3 . About the date of the conquest of Kurrar by Bundela chief is disputed, see, 'Contribution to the history of Budelkhand, pp. 44-45; The *Later Mughals*, II, p. 217; *Orchha Gazetteer*, p. 15

4 . *Bir Charitra* p. 487; *Chhtra Prakash*, p. 10.

1415) and Arjun Deo) ruled over Bundelkhand.[1] The tenth chief Raja Malkhan (d. 1507)[2] was the first Bundela ruler who came into direct conflict with Lodi Sultans of Delhi. According to *Chhatra Prakash,* in 1482 Sultan Bahlol Lodi attacked and defeated Kirat Singh, the Tomar ruler of Gwalior. The Bundela ruler Malkhan fought against the Sultan on the side of Kirat Singh and after the defeat accepted his overlordship.[3]

Rudra Pratap was the first important ruler of Bundelkhand who succeeded his father Malkahn in 1507. Taking full advantage of internal dissension among the Lodis after the accession of Ibrahim Lodi and invasion of Babur Rudra Pratap considerably increased the territorial limits of his kingdom. He annexed some portions of the kingdom of Ibrahim Lodi and when Babur conquered Chanderi and Kalpi from Medini Rai Rudra Pratap along with other chiefs of the region also accepted the overlordship of the Mughals.[4] In 1531 Rudra Pratap founded the city of Orchha and made it as his capital.[5]

Bharati Chand, eldest son of Rudra Pratap ascended the throne of Orchha after the death of his father in 1531. For about one decade Bharti Chand ruled without any trouble apparentely on account of his freindly relation with the Mughals. But after the overthrow of Humayun (1540) Sher Shah sent an army against the Bundelas for having friendly relation with the Mughals and encroaching

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1 . *Bir Charitra. pp. 485-88: Chhatra Prakash,* pp. 3-10

2 . *Jhansi Gazetteer,* p. 190; cf. *Eastern states (Bundelkhand) Gazetteer,* p. 17

3 . *Chhatra Prakash,* p. 11; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 190

4 . *Babur Nama,* tr. Annettee S. Beveridge, vol. II, second edition, 1929, pp. 590-92

5. *Chahatra Prakash,* p. 11; *Eastern States (Bundelkhand) Gazetteer,* p. 17; *Orchha Gazetter,* p. 17; *Jhansi Gazetteer,* p. 190; cf. *Imperial Gazetter of India,* Vol. XIV, p. 137, states that the city of Orchha was founded by Bharti Chand, the son and successor of Rudra Pratap. Orchha is on the left bank of the river Betwa, 8 mile south of Jhansi district.

upon the imperial territories. The Bundelas offered very strong resistance and it appears that the Sur army was not very successful in its objective.[1]

In 1545 when Sher Shah attacked Kalinjar, held by Kirat Singh, the Baghela chief of Gwalior, the Bundelas who were on good terms with the Raja assisted him against the Sur army. But the combined army of the Baghelas and Bundelas was defeated by Sher Shah and in spite of his sudden death the fort was conquered by the Sur.[2]

After the death of Sher Shah and the conquest of Kalinjar his son and successor, Islam Shah made several attempts to punish the Bundelas who had helped the Raja of Gwalior against the Sur army. But because of the difficult terrain of Bundelkhand and tough resistance offered by Bharti Chand and Madhukar Shah the Surs failed to bring them under their control. After the death of Islam Shah, Raja Ram Chand, the Baghela chief with the help of the Bundelas reoccupied Kalinjar sometime after 1550.[3]

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1 . *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 37. It only refers that a number of battles between the Sur rulers, Sher Shah and Islam Shah and the Bundelas, Bharti Chand and his brother Madhukar Shah, were fought. But it fails to provide any details of these battles and their consequences. It shows that the Surs were not very successful against the Bundela, because of the sudden death of Sher Shah at Kalinjar. Similarly, during the reign of Humayun no battle between the Mughals and the Bundelas is reported. Thus, one amy assume that the cordial relation established by Babur with the chiefs of Bundelkhand and the Bundelas was maintained during the reign of Humayun also. *Jhansi Gazetteer*, XXIV, p. 101; cf. *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer of Jhansi*, p. 41. The name Rudra Pratap is an error in place of Bharti Chand. The former is wrongly said to have waged many wars against Sher Shah and Islam Shah. As mentioned above, Rudra Pratap died in 1631 and Sher Shah's accession took place after nine years in 1540.

2 . Abbas Khan Sherwani. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, tr. Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya, Patna, 1974, pp. 716-18.

3 . *Akbarnama* vol. II, pp. 498-99; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II pt. I, p. 105; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 191, has wrongly mentioned the Baghela chief, Raja Bharti Chand of Bhatt, as Bundela chief Bharti Chand. Also see, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 595-96.

CHAPTER II
House of Ochha (Part A)
(i) RAJA MADHUKAR SHAH (1554-92)

Raja Madhukar Shah ascended the throne of Orchha in 1554, following the death of his elder brother, Bharti Chand[1]. From the local history of Bundelkhand, it appears that at this time he had under his possession the *paraganas* of Mau Mahewa, Pandra, Haraspur (in Jhanshi), Dungarpur (in Datiya), Katera, Magawan and Jundra[2]. The Bundelas (Bharti Chand & Madhukar Sah) were able to bring such large territories under their sway mainly because of the civil war conditions prevailing in the Sur Kingdom after the death of Islam Shah.

Raja Madhukar, according to local source also fought several battles against Mughal forces durig the early years of Akbar's reign and captured many neighbouring Mughal territories. The imperial army under the command of Nizam Khan, Ali Quli Khan and Jam Quli Khan was defeated by him at Chelarat, Baroni and Bharner. As a consequence of these victories many neighbouring areas of Mughal territories came under the Bundelas[3]. Although no contemporary source refers to these compaigns but the *Masirul-Umara* in a way fully corroborates the compaigns and victories in following words: ''He (Raja Madhukar) became famous by his skill, diplomacy, courage and bravery and surpassed his ancestors. In course of time he occupied many places in the neighbourhood. As a result of his large property, following and the increased territories, he became proud and challanged Akbar's authority[4].'' He also occupied a greater portion of Gondwana region during the

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1. *Bir Charitra*, p. 487; Notes of Blochman, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 546; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 14; *Masirul-Umara* Vol. II, part I, p. 106. Bharti Chand was childless and hence no opposition on the succession of Raja Madhukar is reported after former's death in 1554.
2. *The Central Indian State Gazetteer series, Eastern States, Bundelkhand Division* (Lucknow, 1907), Vol. VI-A, p. 17.
3. *Bir Charitra*. p. 487; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV, p. 192; The names can hardly be identified.
4 . *Masirul-Umara*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 106-7; Also see, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, p. 137.

same period[1]. A comparative study of the territories held by Madhukar in 1554 and in 1592, when he expired, further substantiate our contention[2].

But inspite of strong position of Raja Madhukar and the difficult situation with which the Mughal empire was faced, Akbar appears to have made no attempt to establish friendly relation with the Bundelas. Although the Bundelas were one of the earliest local chiefs to have accepted the overlordship of Babur and apparently continued doing so under Humayun[3].

Mughal empire was faced with grave crisis because of Humayun's sudden death and minority of Akbar. The first four years of Akbar's reign were conducted by Bairam Khan, emperor having no role to play. Bairam Khan saved the Mughal empire by his bold policies but a large number of nobles remained unhappy with him. Ultimately he was overthrown in 1560 and the emperor took the reins of Governments in his hands[4]. But the senior Turani nobles started behaving arrogantly and there were frequent rebellions by them. This made the securing of some indigenous support imparative for the young Emperor. Although certain Afghan chiefs had accepted the overlordship of the Mughals they could not be safely relied upon specially when other Afghan chiefs were still defying the Mughal authority. The only alternative was to explore the possibility of obtaining support from the Rajputs and the Indian Muslims. The admission of these elements into Mughal sevice became an important part of Akbar's policy[5]. As is well known, in 1562 on his first visit to Ajmer Akbar married Bhar Mal's daughter and

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1. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. III, ed. Dr. Syed Moinul Haq, Karanchi, 1970, p. 60.

2. At the time of his accession, Madhukar Sah held the *parganas* of Mau Mahewa, Pandra, Haraspur (in Jhansi), Dungarpur (in Datia), Katera, Megawan and Kundra under his possession. By 1592, when he died, beside above said territories he had included parganas of Pichor, Kachhoa, Paharia, Gaur and Shivpur or Sipri in his kingdom. (*The Central India State Gazetteer Series, Eastern States, Bundelkhand Division*

3. Op. Cit.

4. *Chieftains During the Mughal Period Under Akbar*, Ahsan Raza Khan.

5. 'Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious policy (1560-80)' Iqtedar Alam Khan, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1968, p. 29.

admitted in his service Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, son and grandson of Bhar Mal Kachhwaha. After that other houses of Rajputs also joined service although this process took sometime[1]. It is however significant to note that Akbar or for that matter Raja Madhukar took no initiative in establishing friendly relations with the Bundelas , although as metioned above Rudra Pratap and Bharti Chand had accepted overlordship of Babur and Humayun.

Although the Bundelas had considerably strengthened their position in the region of Bundelkhand during the first half of the sixteenth century, but, it appears, they had yet not become so powerful to pose any great threat to the Mughal authority or its stability. During the period under review the Mughal empire under Akbar was passing through a very critical phase. On the one hand his own nobility, as said above, (mainly Turani) was behaving very arrogantly demanding his immediate attention and on the other hand Akbar was also anxious to conquer at least all those areas which had been part of Mughal Empire under his grand father Babur and father Humayun[2]. For example, the whole of the eastern India was under the Afghans, Malwa and Gujrat had independent ruling dynasties and similarly the whole of Rajputana had become independent. Akbar, as briefly mentioned above, no doubt wedded the help of some local elements to bring his nobility under imperial control and also in his plan of conquest and consolidation. With these ends in his mind he admitted two local elements-Indian Muslims (Shaikhzadas) and Rajputs in his nobility. Among the Indian Muslim only members of leading families of mystics and powerful local chiefs were considered for service, (the Afghans were just not considered for any appointment for major part of his reign because of their hostility to the Mughal)[3]. Similarly among Rajputs only the well known clans (mainly from *Suba*

1. 'Rajput Clans in the Mughal Nobility : The Bundela Case' K. K. Trivedi, Bhubaneswar, IHC., 1977.

2. See, *Chieftains During the Mughal Period Under Akbar;* 'Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy (1560-80)'.

3. See, The Emperor's Relation with Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir', Afzal Husain, IHC, Bhubaneswar, 1977.

Ajmer) were admitted and favoured for promotions and important jobs. The Bundelas in spite of their unique position in Bundelkhand region were not admitted to the Mughal service during the period. Although the family records of the Bundelas and local histories, as mentioned above refers to several skirmishes having taken place between them and the Mughal army during these early years of Akbar's reign in which Bundelas were always successful. But in the absence of any contemporary source to substantiate these wars we can hardly make out any thing from this. Besides that the Bundelas were generally considered petty chiefs with very little resources at their command. Although they claimed their descent from among the thirty six traditional clans of Rajputs but apparently their claim was not very seriously accepted by the Rajputs of Ajmer *Suba*[1]. They were looked down and dispised as willy hill-men (Kohi). Even as a fighter the Bundelas were less resolute and very impatient of discipline[2]. They also had no glorious tradition of their family to impress the Mughal authority.

In these circumstances they were hardy useful for the Mughals. It appears, on these accounts, Akbar paid no attention towards Bundela in his early years when he admitted local elements in his nobility. Besides that the Indian Muslims and Rajputs who were admitted quite early may also have played a role as they held Bundelas in poor estimation.

However, taking advantage of the rebellions (of the Mughal nobles)[3] in whose suppression the Mughal armies were involved and later on the campaigns of conquest, Raja Madhukar successfully extended the boundaries of his kingdom conquering the territories of other chiefs of Bundelkhand. He also made attempts to conquer neighbouring imperial territories[4].

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1. Op. Cit.
2. *Sher Shah and His Times*, p. 430.
3. The Nobility Under Akbar and the Development of his religious policy, pp. 30-32.
4. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, Vol. III, p. 61; *Masirul Umara*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 106-7.

It was only in 1573, that Akbar took a serious view of the activities of Raja Madhukar who had over ran Sironj and Gwalior. An army under Sayyid Mahmud Barha was sent against him. The Mughal officer claimed to have achieved a great victory over Raja Madhukar, but the Raja could not be completely suppressed[1].

In 1576 Raja Madhukar once again tried to occupy the neighbouring imperial territories. Sadiq Khan, Raja Askaran Kachhwaha and other nobles at the head of a large army were dispatched to chastise him. It appears that at this stage Akbar wanted to offer some concessions to Raja Madhukar before starting the war against him, because he asked his commanders to come to terms with the Raja. But Raja Madhukar, being over confident of his strength, refused to accept the overlordship of the Mughals. Now a war with the rebels became inevitable[2]. As the area was heavily forested jungles were cleared for the smooth movement of the army. The first engagement with the rebels took place at Karhara, held by Parman Parmanand Panwar, a tributory chielf of Raja Madhukar[3]. After capturing the fort the royal forces marched towards Orchha. On the bank of river Sawa (Satdhara)[4] a well contested battle was fought between the imperial forces and Raja Madhukar. Horal Deo, son of Raja Madhukar, alongwith 200 Rajputs were killed in the battle and Ram Shah, eldest son of Raja, was seriosly wounded and fled from the battlefied. Orchha was occupied and Sadiq Khan took up his quarters in the fort. The imperial army gained a decisive victory. Raja Madhukar Shah finding himself incapable of continuing the struggle against the imperial army sent his nephew, Som Chand, to Sadiq Khan to request the emperor to grant

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1. *Akbarnama* (tr.) H. Beveridge, Vol. III, reprint 1977, p. 77; After his great success against Raja Madhukar, Syyid Mahmud Barha reported to emperor Akbar that he had performed such and such feats of valour. Asaf Khan who was also present at the court remarked. "Miranji/ this victory was due to the good fortune (Iqbal) of the king." Sayyid Mahmud Barha believed that Iqbal was the name of one of the royal officers and replied, "why do you tell untruths, Iqbal was not there, it was I and my brethren who weilded the two handed swords." Akbar smiled and bestowed on him all kinds of favours; *Masirul-Umara*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 37; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 192.

2. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 209-10; *Bir Charitra*, p. 487; *Masirul-Umara*, Vol. II, part I, p. 106.

3. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 230; Karhara was near Orchha; *Masirul-Umara*, Vol. II, part I, p. 106; *The Central State Gazetteer Series, Eastern States, Bundelkhand Division*, Vol. VI-A, p. 17; Parmanand owed allegiance to the Bundela chief, Raja Madhukar; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 192.

4. River Sawa (Satwardha) was on the north or Orchha.

him pardon[1] . It appears that the emperor conceded to his request and Raja Madhukar was not only pardoned but reinstated in his dominion in accordnace with Akbar's policy towards chieftains[2] .

For the next many years Raja Madhukar did not create any disturbances and remained submissive to the Mughals. But when in 1586 Mirza Aziz Koka and Shahabuddin Ahmad were appointed to the Deccan compaign Raja Madhukar was also ordered to accompany them. The Raja after reaching near Orchha fled from the imperial camp and rebelled. The imperialist attacked and plundered Orchha. Indrajit, his son, who strengthened the fort of Khajwa to oppose the imperial army was also defeated and forced to flee[3]. Finding his position unequal in the contest with the imperial army Madhukar again sued for peace and, it appears, once again Akbar pardoned him.

In 1592 Prince Murad was appointed to the government of Malwa. Mughal armies from Agra, Kannauj and Gwalior were ordered by Akbar to accompany the prince for his assistance[4]. But when the Prince reached Gwalior on his way to Malwa, Madhukar who was also ordered to accompany Murad not only failed to come to offer his submission but was in open rebellion[5]. Several engagements in the neighbourhood of Narwar took place between him and the combined imperial army. Although Madhukar at this stage had large army at his command but even then he was defeated. He died a natural death in the same year (1592)[6].

From the above discussion it becomes quite clear that Raja Madhukar during his reign was able to extend

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1 . *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 324-27; *Bir Charitra*, p. 487.

2 . For details, see, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 324-37; *Bir Charitra*, p. 487; *Masirul-Umara*, Vol. II, part I, p. 106.

3 . *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 324-27; *Bir Charitra*, p. 487; *Masirul Umara*, Vol. II, part I, p. 106.

4 . *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, tr. W. H. Lowe, Vol. II, Second edition, 1973, . 391; of *Bir Charitra*, p. 487.

5 . *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 526-27.

6 . *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 526-27; *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*, p. 391; *Bir Charitra*, p. 488. *Masirul Umara*, Vol. II, part I, p. 107.

the boundaries of his kingdom considerably. Besides the territories that he inherited from his brother Bharti Chand he succeeded in annexing the parganas of Pichor, Kachhoa, Kunch, Paharia, Gaur and Shirpur or Sipri in his kingdom by 1592[1]. The above mentioned extent of the Bundela territory under Madhukar is also confirmed by the indirect evidence in comtemporary source while dealing with military operations against him. We find that he exercised his authority over a wide area comprising the above mentioned principalities and extending over the Akbari *Sarkars* of Narwar, Bayanwan and Iraj[2].

After Raja Madhukar's death his eldest son, Ram Chand, also called Ram Sah, presented himself before Prince Murad with a large tirbute. Thereafter on the orders of the Prince he proceeded alongwith Yar Mohammad, the son of Sadiq Khan to offer his submission to the Emperor and presented himself at Srinagar[3]. The emperor bestowed on him the kingdom of his father and subsequently awarded a mansab of 500[4]. Two other sons of Madhukar, Har Deo[5] and Bir Singh Deo[6] were assigned Basneh (in Jhansi) and Baroni respectively.

(ii) MAHARAJA BIR SINGH DEO (1605-1627)

The history of Bundelkhand (1605-1627) under the rule of Bir Singh Deo Bundela was one of the most important period. During this time on the one hand there was

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1. *The Central India State Gazetteer Series, Eastern States, Bundelkhand Division*, Vol. VI, A, p. 19.

2. See the details of the compaign led by Sadiq Khan through Narwar as given in *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 231-261. Khajwa (Sarkar Bayanwan) is also mentioned (*Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 526-27) as part of the Bundela territory.

3. For details see, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 604-5; *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 391; however mentions that Ram Sah presented himself at Lahore; *Eastern States (Bundelkhand Gazetteer*, p. 109; *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer of Jhansi*, p. 42.

4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 163; Ram Chand's name is included in the *Aim* among the mansabdars holding the rank of 500 during Akbar's period, *Tazkirat-aql-Umara*, Br. Mus. Add. 16703 (microfilm in the Department of History, A.M.U.), f 151 (a); Cf, *Keshav Granthavali Bir Chartira* part III, of Keshav Das, ed. Vishwanath Prasad Mishra, First edition, 1959, p. 495.

5. *Eastern States (Bundelkhand) Gazetteer*, p. 109.

6. *Masirul-Umara*, Vol. II, part I, p. 107.

complete peace and prosperity and on the other hand substantial territorial expansion in the kingdom also took place. In the following pages we have attempted to trace and critically examine how Bir Singh Deo became the most favourite noble of Jahangir and the circumstances which led to his rise and establishment of his deep influence at the Mughal Court.

Bir Singh Deo was the fourth son of Madhukar Shah of Orchha[1]. He had thirteen sons, one daughter[2] and three wives all belonging to the Dhandera clans of Rajput[3]. It is useful to note that none of Bir Singh Deo's wives were from families of the superior Rajput clans of the *Suba* of Ajmer. The reason is fully ascertained by the following details of W. Crooke. He states that the Rathor, Sisodia and kachhwaha Rajputs considered themselves superior to the Bundelas or Gaharwal Rajputs. Because of such social discrimination they would not establish materimonial relation with their inferiors (Bundelas)[4].

On the death of Madhukar Shah in 1592 a war of succession started among his sons. Although Ram Shah, the eldest son of Madhukar Shah, ascended to the throne of Orchha and was recognised also by emperor Akbar[5], but Bir Singh Deo who was very ambitious strongly resented the appointment of his brother and openly rebelled. He immediately proceeded from Baroni[6] which he held in *jagir* from the time of his father, alongwith his brothers

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1. See family chart.
2. For the detals of his sons see famiy chart.
3. *Bir Charitra*, pp. 488, 611. The three wives of Bir Singh Deo were Rani Parvati, Guman Kunwari and Pancham Kunwari who were the daughters of Shyam Singh Dhandera of Shahabad, Parmar Singh of Khairwan and Dhandera of Shahabad respectively.
4. W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. II, pp. 163-65. He further states that likewise, the Bundelas also looked down The Rajput Clans of Sakuris, Baghelas, Gaur and Sagar. The Panwars, Dhanderas and Chauhans were regarded by Bundelas as their equals. Due to this superior and inferior complexity we do find all the wives of Bir Singh Deo belonging to the Dhandera Clan of Rajput.
5. *Akbarnama*, III, p. 604; *Bir Charitra*, p. 487; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 13.
6. Baroni, a *mahal* or *pargana*, 5 mile West of Datiya.

Indrajit and Pratap Rao[1] and occupied Pawayan, Tomargarh, Narwar, Kelaras, Berchha and Karhara[2] . He also captured Hathnoura after killing its officer Bhagjang Jangra. Such a sudden incursion of Bir Singh Deo forced the Mughal officers posted at Bhander[3] to vacate it and subsequently he conquered Iraj from Isa Khan without much resistance[4] .

When emperor came to know of these developments he issued a *farman* to Askaran of Gwalior, Ram Shah of Orchha, Abdur Rahim Khan, Jagannath and Durga directing them to expell Bir Singh Deo from newly occupied territories. The imperial army reached at Chandpur where Jagman, Hasan Khan, Hardor Panwar and Raja Ram Panwar[5] who were the local *zamindars*, accompanied them against Bir Singh Deo. According to the strategic plan, the entire imperial army was divided into two parts. The first comprising the troops under Raja Raj Panwar and Hasan Khan were to launch their offensive from the eastern side. While the second one under Askaran, Jagman and others were to attack Bir Singh Deo at Baroni from north side[6] . A fierce battle ensued in which Manjram, the *prohit* of Ram Shah was killed fighting bravely. Since Bir Singh Deo did not have a large and well quipped army at his disposal he fled from the battle field. In spite of that the Mughal army could not achieve a decisive victory and the compaign was given up temporarily[7].

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1 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 488. Indrajit and Pratap Rao held the *Jagirs* of Kachhowa and Paharia respectively. Also See, *Sagar District Gazetteer*, p. 235.

2 . *Ibid*. These places were located in Gwalior, See *Gwalior Gazetteer*, p. 271-74.

3 . Bhander is located near the village called Chirgaon in Jhansi district in 25°-44 N and 78°-45'E. on the left bank of river Pahuj. During the period under discussion it was a *pargana* or *mahal* of Iraj *Saskar*. Its anceint name was Bhandakpur *Gwalior Gazetteer*, p. 203.

4 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 489; *The Eastern State (Bundelkhand) Gazetteer*, p. 19.

5 . Durga Das was the uncle of Ram Shah and brother of deceased Raja Madhukar Shah.

6 . Chandpur, 7 miles south of Pichhour, a *pargana* of Narwar where a fort was constructed by Bir Singh Deo. *Gwalior Gazetteer*, p. 281.

7 . *Bir Charitra*, pp. 490-91 mention the first compaign in very detail.

Abul Fazl was appointed to lead the second expedition in 1594 with the direction of emperor Akbar to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the rebel as far as possible. Other important Mughal officers like Abdullah Khan, Ram Shah and Durga Das were also directed to reinforce the imperial commander. Abul Fazl appointed Pandit Govind Das to bring Bir Singh Deo to negotiating table but he failed to convince him. However, it was on the intervention of Abdullah Khan that Bir Singh Deo agreed to vacate the places which he had conquered in 1592 and to serve under the Mughals. Soon after he accompanied Abdullah Khan to the Deccan. On his way to the Deccan when Bir Singh Deo reached Berar he came to know that emperor Akbar had appointed royal officers in his ancestoral *jagir* of Baroni. He strongly resented the action of the Emperor and requested Abdullah Khan to mediate in the matter pointing out that this was against the assurances given to him by Abul Fazl. Abdullah Khan, however, expressed his inability to do anything in this connection but assured him that he would be assigned much better *Jagir* in the Deccan. But Bir Singh Deo was not satisfied with the assurances of Abdullah Khan; he fled from the Berar and rebelled again. The Emperor took serious note of the rebellion of Bir Singh Deo and now Baroni was assigned to Sangram Shah, son of Ram Shah[1] ·

After four years in 1599 emperor Akbar while proceeding to the Deccan through the territories of Dholpur and Gwalior deputed Raja Ram Kachhwaha from Narwar to negotiate with Bir Singh Deo. But the initiative failed due to the harden attitude of Ram Shah and his son Sangram Singh who refused to concede Baroni to Bir Singh Deo[2] ·

As the doors for further negotiations were closed, the imperial army launched an offensive against Bir Singh Deo.

1 . *Ibid*, p. 493.

2 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 495.

In spite of the active support and military help he obtained from Rao Pratap, Indrajit, Baks Rai, Keshav Rai, Champat Rai, Mukut Gaur, Kirpa Ram and Balwant Yadav at this critical juncture Bir Singh Deo was defeated by the imperial army[1] .

From a careful study of *Akbarnama* and other Persian sources it appears that military compaigns were continued to be sent against Bir Singh Deo during the periods 1592-1599. But the details are so over lapping, brief and confusing that we can hardly make out anything of them. Because of these difficulties we have constructed the details of all three above expeditions completely on the basis of the informations available in *Bir Charitra*[2] .

As a result of continuous war with the combined forces of imperial army and Ram Shah the position of Bir Singh Deo considerably declined and became insecure. He must have been looking for assistance from some other quarters to strengthen his position for which he was advised by his far-sighted commander Yadav Gaur to obtain the blessing of Prince Salim who had rebelled against his father, emperor Akbar, and had established himself at Allahabad (Paryag)[3] . About the same time the Prince came to know of Bir Singh Deo's daring exploits against the imperial army. As Prince Salim was looking for some one who could kill Abul Fazl he contacted Bir Singh Deo through Muzaffar Khan Barha at Ahichhatra[4] . Bir Singh Deo presentedn himself before Prince Salim at Allahabad in 1599. He was specially favoured by the prince and became his close ally ever since his arrival[5] .

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1 . *Ibid*, pp. 495-97. Keshav Das overstating the battle refers to the complete defeat of the imperial army by Bir Singh Deo which is not substantiated by proceeding details.

2 . *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 604-5; *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 391.

3 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 498.

4 . *Ibid*. Ahichhatra was the ancient capital of the Panchal Kings; the tract lying adjacent to river Chambal.

5 . *Ibid*, pp. 499-500. The above facts are also corroborated from the brief details of *Akbarnama*, III, p. 1217, that before the murder of Abul Fazl (1602) Bir Sing Deo had been in the service of Prince Salim. However, it does not mention Muzaffar Khan's contact with Bir Singh Deo.

In August, 1602 when Prince Salim came to know that Abul Fazl was coming back to Agra from the Deccan to lead an expedition against him[1] he was extremely worried and frightened[2]. He frankly records his hostile feeling towards Abul Fazl in his *Tuzuk* as under ''since his (Abul Fazl) feelings towards me were not honest, he both publicly and privately spoke against me. At this period ...... the August feeling of my royal father entirely embattered against me it was certain that he obtained the honour of waiting on his (Akbar) it would be the cause of more confusion and would preclude me from the favour of union with him (my father)[3].'' It is evident from the above remarks that Jahangir apprehended adverse consequence of Abul Fazl's visit to Agra. He therefore decdied to get him killed on his way to the court. Bir Singh who had been living with Salim for the last three years (1599-1602) agreed to do this job[4].

It is a matter of inquiry why Prince Salim seclected and appointed Bir Singh Deo to kill Abul Fazl although there were a number of nobles like Muzaffar Khan Barha and others at Allahabd who were not entrusted this task. The reasons behind this seems to be that like Prince Salim, Bir Singh Deo was also a rebel of emperor Akbar and that the latter had no independent resources at his disposal ever

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1 . *Bir Charitra*, (p. 502), clearly mentions the intention of emperor Akbar behind the recall of Shaikh Abul Fazl from the Deccan to lead an expedition against the rebel Prince Salim.

2 . *Akbarnama*, III, 1217; *Bir Charitra*, 502; *Halat-i-Asad Beg Qazwini*, p. 01; *Tuzuk*, pp. 14-15; *A contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 28; *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 30.

3 . *Tuzuk*, pp. 24-25; *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India states* "Abul Fazl is my old enemy. If he see my father my ruin is certain. I must consider what is to be done about it." *Memoirs of Emperor Jahangir*, (p. 56) further narrates" (Jahangir) am compelled to add, that under the influence of his (Abul Fazl) displeasure on this occasion my father (Akbar) gave to my son Khusrau, over me every advantages of rank and favour, explicitly declaring that after his Khusrau should be king." *Bir Charitra*, (pp. 502-3) fully corroborates the above details with additional information that besides Abul Fazl many other senior nobles at the court were hostile to Prince Salim.

4 . *Akbarnama*, III, 1217; *Halat-i-Asad Beg*, p. 02; *Tuzuk*, I, 25; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, III, p. 363; *Bir Charitra*, (p. 502) adds more details in this regard that after Bir Singh arrived at Allahabad Prince Salim discussed his problem in regard to Abul Fazl at length with him. Since then (1599 A.D.) both had been anxiously waiting for a favourable opportunity to get rid of their enemy. The long awaited time came to an end in the month of August, 1602 A.D. when the proposed visit of Abul Fazl from the Deccan to Agra through Bundelkhand territory was known to them.

since the loss of his *Jagir* of Baroni. Besides that in spite of the assistance of his brothers and meritorious services of his officers he fully realised his weaknesses after his defeat by combined forces of Ram Shah and emperor Akbar in 1699. Apart from that Bir Singh Deo also considered Abul Fazl as his old enemy because the imperial expedition led by him in 1594 resulted into the loss of ancestral *jagir* of Bir Singh and the appointement of Sangram Shah in his place. Lastly, Abul Fazl was to pass through the Bundela territories particularly the places which were earlier held by Bir Singh Deo, with whose topography he was fully well aware. Taking in view the above favourable circumstances to his side Prince Salim finally decided to execute his plan at the hands of Bir Singh Deo.

As a reward for the above daring exploit Prince Salim promised Bir Singh to grant the *gaddi* of Orccha[1] and the rank of 5000[2].

Bir Singh Deo after making full preparations alongwith Muzaffar Khan, Champat Rai and others[3] marched secretly from Allahabad and reached at Baroni in the night without any halt on the way. At the time of his departure from Allahabad Bir Sing Deo was awarded a robe of honour and a large and well equipped army was placed under his command by

1. *Bir Charitra*, p. 503.
2. *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 29. No other contemporary sources specifically mentions about the above assurance given to Bir Singh. But the remarks of Jahangir in the *Tuzuk*, p. 25. "If he would stop that seditious-monger (Abul Fazl) and kill he would receive every kindness from me," and *Akbarnama's*, (III, p. 1217) remakrs on the Shaikh Abul Fazl was proceeding to the court unattended, he (Bir Singh) should put an end to him. He then dispatched the villion after having made him of hopeful of many favours." Also see, *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 32.
3. The other important companions who accompanied Bir Singh were Kavi Rai, his head *prohit*, Khande Rai, the commander, Kirpa Ram, the minister, Keshav Rai, Basant Rai, Rawat & Narain Das. *Bir Charitra*, pp. 503, 611.

Prince Salim[1]. He overtook Abul Fazl at Paraichha[2] (Sarai Berar), a village between Narwar and Antri[3] near Gwalior on 11th August, 1602 A.D.

A hotly contested battle was fought in which Abul Fazl's small army was outnumbered and he was killed fighting bravely[4]. A number of soldiers of Bir Singh were also killed[5]. The camp of Abul Fazl was looted and a huge booty fell into the hands of Bir Singh. The head of Abul Fazl was severed from his body by Bir Singh Deo[6] and was sent to Allahabad where it was presented to Prince Salim by Champat Rai[7]. The prince was overjoyed to receive the head of Abul Fazl[8]. Champat Rai was specially honoured and returned back with the *nishan* issued by the Prince in the name of Bir Singh Deo granting him the *tika* and appointing him as the ruler of Orchha[9].

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1. *Ibid*, p. 503.
2. *Bir Charitra*, p. 503; *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India* mentions the name as Sarai Berar. But both the sources locate it between Narwar and Antri. It is most probable that the name of the village was renamed as Sarai Berar sometimes after 1602 A.D.
3. Antri is located in between Jhansi and Gwalior; 14 miles away from Gwalior.
4. According to *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, (p. 29), Bir Singh collected an army numbering 5,000 mounted soldiers. At all the places in each village he posted scouts to bring news of Abul Fazl's movements), so that he may know when it was time to come out and attack. Asad Beg further adds that the total army of Abu Fazl consisted of 300 soldiers only. Most of them were newly recruited, who were facing the enemy for the first time (*Halat-i-Asad Beg*, pp. 2-4). Also see, *Bir Charitra, Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 32-33; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, I, 238-39.
5. *Bir Charitra*, (p. 504), also adds that companions of Abul Faz repeatedly requested him to follow a safer route just before they were attacked but he took no notice of it and prepared himself to fight in person and killed many of his enemies.
6. *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 1216-17; *Bir Charitra*, p. 505, *Tuzuk*, I, 25; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawami*, pp. II 360-63. All the sources provide detail account of the battle and the assassination of Abul Fazl by Bir Singh.
7. *Bir Charitra*, p. 505; *Halat-i-Asad Beg*, p. 05.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid. nishan*, a decree or order issued by a Prince.

As soon as the news about the killing of Abul Fazl was known to Akbar[1], he immediately issued orders to Rai Rayan and Raja Man Singh to punish the assassin Bir Singh[2]. Raja Raj Singh, Raja Ram and Ram Shah Bundela accompanied them[3]. The other *zamindars* of the area like Sujan Rai Panwar of Berchha, Pratap Rai and Sujan Shah also joined the royal troops at Gwalior. They reached Antri to arrest Bir Singh from Baroni[4]. According to *Bir Charitra*, when Prince Salim came to know the arrival of the royal troops at Antri he immediately sent signals to Bir Singh to be cautious and avoid struggle. In accordance with the above guidelines Bir Singh left Baroni and proceeded towards Datiya where he strengthened himself[5]. But due to continuous pressure of the imperial army he left the place and took shelter in the fort of Iraj[6]. Rai Rayan and others persued him and reached there. Bir Singh came out of the fort and a fierece battle took place on the bank of the river Betwa[7]. A number of soldiers were killed on both the sides. Jamal Khan, son of Zaman Khan, was amongst those who lost their lives out of the imperial army[8]. The royal soldiers forced Bir Singh to retreat and again take

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1 .*Halat-i-Asad Beg*, (p. 8) narrates "He (Akbar) was extremely grieved, disconsolate, distressed and full of lamentation. That day and night he neither shaved, as usual, nor took opium but spent his time in weeping lamonting." for other details like above see, *Akbarnama* III, 1219-21; *Bir Charitra*, (p. 508) adds that the emperor Akbar condemned Prince Salim and regarded his action against Abul Fazl as a treachery against him. He expressed his willingness to know the whole details from the beginning to end leading to the number of Abul Fazl. Ram Das kachhwaha narrated the whole happening with grief and sorrow. Akbar was so much affected of it that he was not in a position to conduct the business of the administration and hold *darbar* for many days. All the charming and pleasure at the court paralysed for several days. Also see, *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 29.

2. According to *Akbarnama* (III, 1217), at the time of Abul Fazl's murder Rai Rayan and Man Singh were at Antri, in *saskar* Bayanwan with 2 or 3,000 horses. From *Bir Charitra* it appears that these nobles left the above place and went to the imperial court immediately after Abul Fazl's assassination. It was Rai Rayan who took the vow before the emperor at the court to lead the expedition against Bir Singh and put him to death accordingly.

3 . *Akbarnama*, III, 1220-21; *Bir Charitra*, 508.

4 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 509.

5 . *Ibid.* No other contemporary source metions the details about the communication between Prince Salim and Bir Singh Deo.

6 . *IBid; Halat-i-Asad Beg*, p. 509, provide some details about the fort of Iraj, which was situated on a deep broad river called Betwa; the three other sides being exposed to the land.

7 . *Halat-i-Asad Beg*, (p. 10). On the bank of this river (Betwa) the fort (Iraj) was situated.

8 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 509. It does not mentions the total number of casualties on either sides except that Jamal Khan was killed.

shelter in the fort under discussion. When the fort was about to be taken by the Mughals, he breached the wall of the fort at night and came out on the side of the battery of Raja Raj Singh and escaped[1]. After fleeing from Iraj he went into a nearby village called Duni. Having come known about it the royal forces marched there to arrest him. But before they could reach there Bir Singh fled to Datiya where Prince Salim on his way to Agra was waiting for him[2]. Consequently, the fort was placed under the charge of Indrajit and the imperial army returned from the village of Duni[3]. It is noteworthy that the Mughal commander made no attempt to pursue the rebel further apparently due to the intervention of Prince Salim.

Shortly after the failure of the expedition Asad Beg was appointed by Akbar to investigate the whole issue and to bring to light the officers responsible for allowing Bir Singh to escape safely from the fort. When Asad reached the camp of Rai Rayan and other officers they tried to win him over by offering heavy bribes and presents which he refused to accept. After a thorough inquiry of the developments he presented his report to the emperor. In the report he clearly pointed out that Bir Singh succeeded in escaping from the fort due to the slackness of the commanders but their intentions were not hostile. His report was approved and accepted by Akbar[4]. As a consequence of his report, Rai Rayan and certain other officers were recalled[5].

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1 . *Akbarnama*, III, 1222-24; According to Asad Beg, Rai Rayan undertook himself to guard the river bank. Raja of Gwalior, Raj Singh and other nobles were placed to guard the three other land sides (*Halat-i-Asad Beg*, p. 10).

2 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 510. From the same source we also come to know that when Bir Singh had his presence before Prince Salim he was warmly welcomed and received robe of honour. The Kachhwaha nobles, (names not mentioned) who were with Prince greatly disliked the favour given to him. This was obvious because the Kachhwaha and other Rajput Clans of Ajmer *suba* considered Bundelas as their inferior.

3 . *Ibid.*

4 . *Halat-i-Asad Beg*, p. 10. No other source mentions the above inquiry set up by Akbar.

5 . *Akbarnama*, III, 1225; *Bir Charitra*, (p. 510) states that the imperial army was recalled after Bir Singh reached at Datiya.

The successive failure of the Mughal army greatly affected the prestige of Akbar. On the other hand, the position of Bir Singh and his associates considerably increased. Unfortunately, the ruler of Orchha, Ram Shah and his family members also could not do much to prevent Bir Singh from his rebellious activities. As a consequence, if *Bir Charitra* is to be believed, Akbar finally decided on the request of Ram Das Kachhwaha to appoint Indrajit[1] as the ruler of Orchha. But he refused to accept the charge[2].

The turmoil in Bundelkhand due to continuous wars and absence of Bir Singh Deo after his defeat in 1602 provided an ample opportunity for the local *zamindars* to re-establish their hegemony over the areas earlier held by him. Among them Sangram Shah and Harsingh Deo occupied Bhander and Bhasneh respectively. At this time Bir Singh made an earnest effort to re-establish cordial relation with the family members of his elder brother, Ram Shah. He appears to have succeeded in his objective although temporarily. As a result Sangram Shah returned Bhander to Bir Singh. In return he was granted Garh[3], Lahchura and Imlota after their conquest by Bir Singh from the local *zamindar*, Kharag Rai[4].

The fifth or the last expedition against Bir Singh was entrusted to Abdullah Khan in the end of 1604. Shaikh Abdur Rahman, son of deceased Abul Fazl, Raja Raj Singh and Patar Das were also dispatched to reinforce him[5].

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1. Indrajit was the son of Ratan Sen (Ratan Shah) and younger brother of Khande Rai. He should not be confused with one of the sons of Raja Maduhkar Shah whose name was also Indrajit.

2. *Bir Charitra* (pp. 513-15), clearly states that on the request of Ram Das, Akbar decided to offer the *gaddi* of Orchha to Indrajit, a peson belonging to a different family of clan, on certain conditions.

3. Garh (Kota)-28 miles east of Sagar on the way to Damoh, once the capital of the Bundelas. The fort of the place is located on the flanks of river Sagar and Gadhari see, *Sagar Distt. Gazetteer*, p. 255.

4. *Bir Charitra*, pp. 511-13.

5. *Akbarnama*, III, p. 156; *Bir Charitra*, p. 515.

When Bir Singh came to know of it, he hastened from Allahabad and re-established himself at Orchha[1]. On this occasion he achieved the military support of his kinsmen like Indrajit, Sangram Shah, Rao Pratap and Ugrsen[2]. The combined forces of Bir Singh were badly defeated by the royalists in the battle which ensued at Orchha. He himself was seriously injured and a number of his officers were killed.[3] As a reward for this achievement Raja Raj Singh was raised to the rant of 4,000/4,000[4]. However, Bir Singh once again managed to escape after poisoning the wells of the area rendering the position of the royal forces untenable. The imperial army was forced to leave the place due to not availability of water and other provisions[5] .

In 1605 emperor Akbar once again decided to launch a fresh expedition against Bir Singh. But his serious illness and death prevented him from executing the plan[6].

The rebellion of Bir singh Deo prologed for a period of about of thirteen years (1592-1605). During this long period Bir Singh Deo openly challanged the imperial authority. In spite of the best efforts of emperor Akbar all the five expeditions failed to bring any praiseworthy and concrete result. From going through the details so far discussed we find that during the last decade of Akbar's reign the nobility at the court was selfishly divided into two groups. The first group mainly comprised of Shaikh

1. *Bir Charitra*, (p. 515) also states that at the time of the departure of imperial army from Agra Bir Singh was at Allahabad who had gone there to pay respects to the Prince after his return from the imperial court.
2. *Ibid.*
3 . *Akbarnama*, III, p. 156; cf. *Bir Charitra*, (p. 515) provides an adverse details regarding the battle. According to it, the Mughal forces were badly defeated by Bir Singh and a large booty fell into the hands of Bir Singh and his associates.
4 . *Ibid:* cf. Ibid (pp. 516-17), Raja Raj Singh narrowly escaped from battle field.
5 . *Ibid*, p. 157; Also see, *Masirul-Umara*, I, p. 425; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 349; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 194.
6 . *Bir Charitra*, p. 520.

Abul Fazl, Raja Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka who were the staunch supporters of Prince Khushrau, the eldest son of Prince Salim. The other faction comprised the nobles who had their sympathies with Prnce Salim. Among such nobles were Muzaffar Khan Barha, Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Abdullah Khan. The various expeditions sent against Bir Singh failed mainly due to the lack of co-operation among the different nobles. It was because of this reason that Bir Singh Deo managed to escape safely from the fort of Iraj in 1602 and the royal troops failed to arrest him on several other occasions. They also dont seem to be steadfast while dealing with Bir Singh Deo because of the complete support of Prince Salim to the rebels. It was, more or less, also obvious that Prince Salim would succeed his father and any attempt by a noble against his will or interest might prove disastrous.

The other subsidiary but important factor responsible for Bir Singh's success before 1599 was the local support of the Bundela chiefs and *zamindars* like Indrajit, Pratap Rao, Champat Rai, Ugrasen, etc. It also appears from going through the details of military operations in the region of Bundelkhand that Bir Sigh partly succeeded due to guerilla tactics which suited the geographical conditions of Bundelkhand region. He appears to have adopted the above way of warfare frequently avoiding a pitched battle because of his weak position.

ACCESSION OF BIR SINGH DEO

The death of emperor Akbar in 1605 marked the end of hardship and rebellion of Bir Singh Deo. The accession of Prince Salim as emperor Jahangir opened a new chapter in the history of Mughal relation with the family of Madhukar Shah in general and that of Bir Singh Deo in particular.

Just after his accession to the throne emperor Jahangir issued a *farman* in the name of Bir Singh Deo asking him to present himself at the court. As a part of his attempt to establish cordial relation with the family members of his elder brother Ram Shah, Bir Singh took Sangram Shah, Indrajit and Bharat Shah with him and presented them before the emperor for royal favours[1]. He was granted the whole territory of Bundelkhand including Jathara[2] by the Emperor in 1605[3]. But the decision was greatly resented by Ram Shah who left Iraj and occupied Pathari[4]. When Bir Singh came to know of it he immediately proceeded from the court and reached at Piparhat[5] and without much resistance he took over Pathari from Ram Shah. After its loss Ram Shah established himself at Bangawan, the place situated at a distance of half a *kos* from Pathari[6].

Bir Singh Deo once again tried to establish friendly relation with Ram Shah. He sent his son[7] with Indrajit to his elder brother at Bangwan. As a token of assurance Ram Shah in return sent Bharat Shah to Bir Singh Deo at Barethi while he himself proceeded to Orchha. The relatives of Ram Shah like Angad and Prema as well as his own wife Kalyan Devi strongly condemned him for his reconciliation with Bir Singh Deo and forced Ram Shah to

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1. *Bir Charitra*, p. 521.
2. Jathara was an important *pargana* of Orchha state.
3. *Bir Charitra*, p. 522.
4. Pathan, a name given to any tract located in hilly region of Bundelkhand. Here, Pathan was a village in Sagar district.
5. Piparahat, a village in district Sagar assigned in *Jagir* to the family of Ram Shah by emperor Akbar.
6. *Bir Charitra*, p. 525.
7. The name of his son is not mentioned in *Bir Charitra*.

recall Bharat Shah from Barethi. Thus once again the efforts of Bir Singh were dashed to the ground[1].

We may conclude from the above developments that the decision of emperor Jahangir in appointing Bir Singh Deo the *Raja* of whole of Bundelkhand greatly hampered the interest of Ram Shah and his family members. Bir Singh tried to win them over by granting them some small *jagirs* which they did not accepted but rebelled against the decision of emperor Jahangir.

In 1606, after the flight of Bharat Shah from Barethi to Orchha Bir Singh Deo came to Birgarh[2] and occupied Babina[3]. Ram Shah started preparation to offer resistance against Bir Singh Deo. Emperor Jahangir appointed Abdullah Khan, then the *jagirdar* of Kalpi to attack Orchha[4]. Ram Shah dispatched Indrajit[5] and Rao Bhopal to prevent the advancing imperial army. In the meantime, Bir Singh also joined the royal forces[6]. Abdullah Khan defeated and imprisoned Ram Shah and produced him before Jahangir[7]. But Bharat Shah escaped and continued to defy Bir Singh Deo and other Mughal officers posted in the neighbouring areas. In spite of Bir Singh's best efforts Bharat was able to capture Dhamoni[8], Pathari and Betwa[9] in 1607. In the same year Bir Singh informed Jahangir that he had captured one of his nephew who had been responsible for

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1. *Bir Charitra*, pp. 525-29. No other source mentions the above family feuds.
2. Birgarh, a very big village in district Banda.
3. *Bir Charitra*, pp. 582-34.
4. *Tuzuk*, p. 82.
5. *Bir Charitra*, 535. Both were the sons of Ratan Shah.
6. *Ibid*. p. 536.
7. *Tuzuk*, (p. 82) states that for this achievement Abdullah Khan was raised to the position of 3,000/2,000; *Bir Charitra*, (pp. 535-43) mentions the battle in detail.
8. *Jhasni Gazetteer*, p. 194.
9. *Bir Charitra*, p. 546. It does not mention the occupation of Dhamoni.

creating problem and killing a number of his followers. Jahangir ordered him to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior[1].

The family feud which started following the death of Madhukar Shah in 1592 came to an end in 1608 when emperor Jahangir himself initiated his policy of reconciliation with Ram Shah's family. It is evident from the following details that both Jahangir and Bir Singh Deo made efforts to settle the rift in the family and largely succeeded in it.

As an outcome of the above efforts the *jagir* of Bihat was assigned to Rao Bhupal, Garh-Kundar[2] to Indrajit and Bandha to Rao Pratap by Bir Singh[3]. Besides that emperor Jahangir released Ram Shah and others in 1608[4]. Thereafter he was appointed as the *Raja* of Chanderi and Banpur (Bar) which included the whole sub-division of Lalitpur[5] yielding a revenue of three lakhs[6]. Ram Shah was the first person to be appointed as the *Raja* of this territory by the Mughals[7]. As an assurance of friendly gesture, Ram Shah established materimonial alliance with emperor Jahangir by marrying his daughter to him in 1609[8]. Since Ram Shah was granted a separate territory of Chanderi, emperor Jahangir awarded the whole territory of Madhukar Shah to Bir Singh Deo[9].

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1. *Tuzuk*, p. 111.
2. Garh-Kundar, an ancient fort in district Jhansi. This stronghold was conquered by Arjunpal, one of the ancestors of Bir Singh (*Chhatra Prakash*, p. 10).
3. *Bir Charitra*, p. 546.
4. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 87.
5. *Bir Charitra*, p. 546.
6. *Jhansi Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 194-97.
7. *Eastern States (Bundelkhand Gazetteer)*, p. 109.
8. *Tuzuk*, I.p. 160.
9. *Bir Charitra*, p. 547.

RISE OF BIR SINGH DEO , HIS POSITION AND POL. ACHIEVEMENTS

At the time of Akbar's serious illness and death, Raja Man Sing and Mirza Aziz Koka conspired to place Prince khusrau to the throne but they failed in their objective. Jahangir ascended the throne and pardoned Man Singh, Mirza Aziz Koka and such other nobles who were involved in the conspiracy. However, after the revolt of Khusrau within six month of his accession, Jahangir completely lost the confidence of Old Akbari nobles[1]. In his memoirs he calls Mirza Aziz Koka and Man Singh as old wolves of the empire. But the old nobility was so powerful that they could not be dismissed. Therefore, Jahangir raised a new nobility to counter them. The new nobles who were rapidly promoted to higher ranks were friends of his childhood days, those who were with him at Allahabad, members of the family of Shaikh Salim Chisti and his other close associates. Bi Singh Deo Bundela was also among such close friends and associates of Salim when he was a rebel and had carried out the murder of Abul Fazl on his instruction.

1. *Risala-i-Tarikh-i-Asad Beg Qazwini*, pp. 51-33; *The Empire of Great Mongol*, Delaet. tr. Holland and Banejee, Bombay, 1928, p. 71; *Early Travels in India* by Hawkins, ed., W. Foster, p. 98; He writes in 1613 A.D. that Man Singh's mansab was 5,000. While during the reign of Akbar and in 1605 A.D. he held the rank of 7,000/6,000 (*Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 839 and *Tuzuk*, p. 6). Thus his mansab was reduced as a consequence of his support to Prince Khusrau.

As we have seen earier that even before his accession to the throne in 1605, Jahangir had rewarded Bir Singh Deo with cash and dresses of honour and other artilces and had also assured him of special favours after his enthronment. Just after his accession Jahangir issued a *farman* in the name of Bir Singh Deo and wished to seem him. In October, 1605 when he presented himself before the Emperor, he was raised to the rank of 3,000/2,000[1] .

Jahangir himself mentions the reasons for this promotion in the *Tuzuk* in the following words,''I promoted Bir Singh Deo, a Bundela Rajput, who had obtained my favour, and who excels his equals and relatives in valour, personal goodness and simple heartedness to the rank of 3,000. At another place in the same work, the Emperor mentions him as ''the lion of the forest bravery and crocodile of the river of the forest."[2] In *Bir Charitra* also he has been praised for his bravery, ability, courage and victory etc.[3]

After his accession to the throne, the foremost political desire of Jahangir was the subjugation of Rana Amar Singh of Mewar. For this very important task Mahabat Khan was appointed to deal with him (1608). Besides other important Mughal nobles, Bir Singh was ordered to accompany him against the Rajput ruler (Rana). On this occassion Bir Singh Deo was given a *Khilat* and a special horse.[4] In the same year (1608), Bir Singh Deo offered a white *cheeta* which was unique one, to the king.[5]

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1 *Tuzuk*, p. 10

2 · *Tuzuk*, 314.

3 · *Bir Charitra*, pp. 497, 584-85, 612; He has been compared with legendary ancient Indian heroes and Kings like Raja Bharat, Vikramajit, Ram Chand and others in respect of courage, bravery and truthfullness.

4 · *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 111; *Masirul-Umara*. Vol. I, p. 424.

5 · *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 139, 147; *Jahangir's india,* or *The Remostrative of Fransciso Pelsaert tr.* Moreland and P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 51

Due to failure against Rana, Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdullah Khan in 1609. Bir Singh Deo alongwith other prominent nobles such as Shujat Khan and Raja Vikramjit was also deputed to help Adbullah Khan.[1] After serving the impeial army under Abdullah Khan against the Rana for sometime he was sent by the Emperor to the Deccan under Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. Although the imperialist failed to gain any decisive victory against the Deccanis, they tried their best. Bir Siingh Deo served four years (1609-12) in the Deccan and rendered valuable services.[2] As a reward for his achievements and loyalty he was given promotion of 1,000 zat and a jewelled sword. In the following year (1613) he was again promoted and attained the rank of 4,000/2,2000.[3]

In 1613 Prince Khurram was sent against the Rana of Mewar. Bir Singh Deo who had now become a close associate of the Prince was also asked to accompany him. The imperialists were able to bring the Rana to agreeable terms and to accept the suzerainty of the Mughals.[4]

The Mughals had failed to achieve any success in the Deccan in spite of emperor Jahangir's highest endeavour. Prince Parwez as well as Khan-i-Khanan in 1615 also could not prevent Malik Ambar from his conquests. But the situation changed when some of the disgruntled Bijapuri nobles like Jadhar Rao, Babaji Kayath and others were won over by Shahnawaz Khan to the side of the Mughals. Bir Singh Deo who had been serving the Mughals for the second time in the Deccan was with Shahnawaz Khan on this occasion. After winning over the Bijapuri nobles Shahnawaz Khan alongwith Bir Singh Deo, Darab Khan and others

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1. *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, p. 160.
2. *Tuzuk*, p. 160; *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, Vol. III, p. 364; *Masirul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 424.
3. *Tuzuk*, p. 231.
4. *Tuzuk*, p. 231; *Zakhiratul Khawanin*, Vol. III, p. 364; *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 88; *Masirual-Umara*, p. 424; *Vir Vinod*, Kaviraj Shyamal Das, Vol. I, p. 230-230.

marched towards Khirki, the new capital of Malik Ambar.[1] On the way they defeated a detachment of the Deccanis. When the news of advance of the Mughal army was communicated to Malik Ambar he prepared himself for the battle and collected a large army at Roshangarh, (situated between Khriki and Samvate). A fierce batte ensued in which Darab Khan with his colleague Bir Singh and others attacked the vanguard of the Deccani forces which was commanded by Malik Ambar himself. At this critical juncture when the prestige of the Mughals was at stake the role played by Bir Singh Deo and his devoted followers and other is specially praiseworthy[2]. Bir Singh fighting bravely pierced through the vanguard of the Deccanis and completely crushed the centre of Malik Ambar's army. In this battle Malik Ambar suffered heavy losses. A large number of his soldiers were either slain or made captive. His entire park of artillery, elephants, horses and camels laden with rockets fell into the hands of the imperialists. Malik Ambar himself fled from the battlefield and took shelter in the fort of Daulatabad. After the victory of Roshangarh Bir Singh Deo and other Mughal generals marched upon Khirki which was ravaged and destroyed by them in 1616.[3]

The news of the defeat of Malik Ambar must have provided Jahangir with the moment of relief and pleasure. He rewarded all those nobles who were responsible for achieving this signal victory. Bir Singh Deo was specially praised for his valour and bravery and his *mansab* was increased by 700 *sawar* rank (now he attained the rank of 4,000/2,900). He was also given a special horse by the Emperor. Bir Singh Deo offered one ruby, some pearls and one elephant which was graciously accepted by the Emperor[4].

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[1] *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 312-14.

[2] *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 312-44.

3 *Tuzuk*, pp. 312-14.

[4] *Tuzuk*, Vol. I, 280.

In the same year Bir Singh Deo was permitted to go to his estate (Orchha), as he had been absent from there for long times (1608-16) having served the Mughals successfully in Mewar and the Deccan. However, he was asked to present himself at the court whenever required[1].

The victory of the Mughal army at Khirki was short lived. Soon after the departure of Mughal army Malik Ambar regained his old position. Prince Parwez and Khan-i-Khanan failed to recover the lost territories from the Deccanis. Therefore, Parwez was recalled and Khurram was despatched as the Supreme commander of Deccan affairs (1616-17 A.D.). Bir Singh Deo was also called from Orchha to accompany the Prince against Malik Ambar. The Mughal forces reached at Burhanpur (1617 A.D.) and under their great pressure Malik Ambar accepted the overlordship of the Mughals and restored Ahmadnagar and *pargana* of Balaghat to them. As a reward for good service Jahangir gave a special *kachhi* horse, one of the good horses of Jam to Bir Singh Deo (which had been once presented to the Emperor)[2].

In 1620, two years after the peace settlement of 1618, Malik Ambar once again started his offensive against the Mughals and succeded in recapturing Ahmadnagar, Berar and Balapur. Emperor Jahangir despatched Prince Khurram once again to retrive the position in the Deccan. Bir Singh Deo was also ordered to accompany the Prince. In 1621 the Mughal army reached Burhanpur where a council of war was held to discuss the strategy to be adopted against Malik Ambar[3]. According to the plan approved a three pronged attack was launched on Malik Ambar under the command of Khawaja Abul Hasan and Darab Khan. Bir Singh Deo was ordered to help the wing led by Darab Khan. Darab Khan and Bir Singh Deo made a surprise attack on the camp of the

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1 *Tuzuk*, pp. 231, 259; *Masirul-Umara*, p. 424.
2. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 12.
3. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 156; *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, pp. 52-53.

Deccanis resulting into a fierce battle at Balapur. A number of sodiers of Malik Ambar were put to death and a large booty also fell into the hands of the imperialists[1]. Malik Amber sued for peace and finally a settlement was made. He agreed to restore the territories that he had captured in 1621. Thereafter Prince Khurram returned to Burhanpur[2].

The defeat of Malik Ambar at Balapur was his second defeat at the hands of the Mughals. In this battle Bir Singh Deo showed rare valour and played an important role in defeating Malik Ambar. As a reweard for his service Bir Singh Deo was given promotion in rank which now stood 5,000/5,000.[3]

After the conquest of Qandhar by the Shah of Persia in 1622[4], emperor Jahangir immediately decided to send an army to recover it and sent orders to different nobles to come to the court quickly with their best and well equipped forces. Bir Singh Deo who was at Burhanpur alongwith Prince Khurram was also summoned to the court. Raja Saran Deo[3], who was sent to the Deccan with the order of the Emperor conveyed to the Emperor that Bir Singh would join him at Thanesar.[5] As is well known Prince Khurram being unhappy due to hostile attitude of Nur Jahan, taking advantage of the serious situation created by the conquest of Qandhar, rebelled.[6] He succeeded in winning over a number of nobles including Abdullah Khan, Khan-i-Khanan and Lashkar Khan.[7] However, Bir Singh Deo refused to turn against his patron emperor

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1. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 174, 221.
2. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 156.
3. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, pp. 230, 233.
4. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, 174, 221.
3. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 156.
5. *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, pp. 240-247; *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 247-49; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 217-18.
6. For details of reason of Shahjahan rebellion. See, *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 349-54.
7. *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 55.

Jahangir.[1] From Burhanpur the Prince as a rebel of the Mughal empire marched towards Agra to seize the treasure and strength his position while Bir Singh Deo left the Prince with the sole objective of supporting and co-operating the Emperor against the seditious Prince.[2] As promised he presented himself alongwith his army before the Emperor at Thanesar.[3] The Emperor was extremely pleased with Bir Singh Deo and dignified him with the title of Maharaja (1623 A.D.). At the same time he also promoted Jujhar Singh, the son of Bir Singh Deo, to the mansab of 2,000/1,000. Bharat Bundela, the nephew of Bir Singh Deo, was also raised to the mansab of 1,500/1,000. Bir Singh Deo was ordered to go to his territory, Orchha[4].

However, Bir Singh Deo remained at Orchha during the time when both Agra and Delhi were threatened by the rebels and a well constested battle was fought between them and the imperial army at the Bilochpur in which Khurram was defeated.

When the Emperor came to know of the entry of Khurram into Orissa he ordered Parwez and Mahabt Khan to hury back to the *suba* of Allahabad and Bihar. Bir Singh Deo who was then present at Orchha, offered two or three lakhs of rupees to the Mughal commanders who passed through his territory and accompanied them with the whole of his army[5]. Before the imperial army could reach to Bihar, Khurram (Shahjahan) and his associates had brought Patna, the fort of Rohtas and Saunpur under their command however they failed to occupy Allahabd. On the arrival of Prince Parwez, Mahabat Khan, Bir Singh Deo and other nobles at

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1 · *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 355, Cf. *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 56, Bir Singh Deo alongwith other officers present at Burhanpur promised to support Shahjahan against Jahangir.

2 · *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 247.

3 · Ibid, Vol. II, p. 250; *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 361-62.

4 · *Tuzuk*, pp. 250, 253. In place of Jujhar Singh the name Jograj is wrongly mentioned; *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 356-60.

5 · *Iqbanama-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 221-22; *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 68.

Allahabad,Abdullah Khan advised Shah Jahan to leave the place and move towards Delhi. But Raja Bhim and other officers opposed the suggestion and advised him to fight. A fierce battle was fought at Damdama at the confluence of the river Tons and the Ganga [1] in which Raja Bhim was killed fighting bravely. Shahjahan saved his life but his horse was wounded and his nobles fled from the battlefield. The army led by Bir Singh Deo plundered the camp of Shahjahan. A huge booty in the form of gold, jewels, together with 3,000 horses, 4 elephants fell in the hands of Bir Singh Deo. Ohter goods, elephants, horses and retinue of Shahjahan and his nobles being imprisoned were seized by Mahabat Khan[2]. Khurram fled to the Deccan where he was welcomed by Malik Ambar. He was pleased to let Shahjahan conduct the unsuccessful siege of Burhanpur in 1624. But the imperialists reached there too and under their pressure Shahjahan had to raise the siege. By this time most supporters of Shahjahan had deserted him. He hoped no further resistance and sought for pardon. As the rebellion ofShahjahan was almost over, Bir Singh Deo took leave and returned to his territory[3].

It appears because of his close co-operation with Parvez during the rebellion of Khurram Bir Singh Deo not only became a great favourite of Prince but also wielded considerable influence on him. He successfully interceded on behalf of Fidai Khan who had fled from the Mughal camp in the battle of Attock[4].

During the closing years of Jahangir's reign (1623-26) Bir Singh Deo taking advantage of deteriorating health of

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1. *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 70; *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 403-414.

2. *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 70; *Masir-i-Jahangiri*, p. 403-414.

3. *A Contemporary Duth Chronicle of India*, p. 72; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 407-11; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 281-89.

4. *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of India*, p. 79.

the Emperor and prevailing political chaos at the court extended his power over the territories of neighbouring *zamindars* (the Gond Chiefs of eastern Malwa) and acquired a large fertile territory. He also heavily bribed the Mughal officers to regularise this acquisition[1]. According to Nainsi, Bir Singh possessed under him about 81 big and small *parganas* consisting of 1,25,000 villages and 28 strong forts[2].

The extension of territories by Bir Singh Deo is also confirmed when we compare the *jama* given in *Nainsi's Khyat* and that of the *Ain*. The *jama* given in the *Khyat* of the *parganas* which he possessed both in *Zamindari* and *jagir* comes to 15,28,00,000 dams[3] (Rs. 38,20,000) is higher than the *jama* of the Ain[4]. The pay claim against his *mansab* of 5,000/5,000 would have come to no more than 5,84,00,000 *dams* (Rs. 14,60,000)[5]. Thus, his income from these *parganas* was almost three times of his salary claim. The reason for exceeding the *jama* of the salary claims, it seems came from those places which he had acquired with the bribery from the Gond chiefs during last years of Jahangir.

An attempt has been made to locate these places on a map so as to give an idea of the extensive possession of Bir Singh Deo in Central India. It shows that he had control over a large areas of the *sarkars* of Bayanwan and Iraj in the north and deep into the Gondwana region of Malwa in the south. It would be difficult to work out the

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1. Lahori, I, pp. 238-251.
2. *Munhat Nainsi Khyat*, I, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1960, pp. 127-28.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. and ed. by J.H.S. Jarrettee, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 198-200, 210-24.
5. For the details of Mansab System during Jahangir's period see, Irfan Habib 'The Mansab System, 1595-1637', Indian History Congress (1967), Patiala session, pp. 228-49. K.K. Trivedi is of the view that the contemporary sources are silent on this development because no objection was raised on the part of emperor Jahangir.

areas which were assigned to him as *jagirs* in lieu of his *mansab*[1].

Besides that Bir Singh Deo had more than 20,000 cavalary at his disposal[2]. From the accounts of foreign travellers like Hawkin and Finch we come to know that he always stood on the left side of the emperor Jahangir at the court and was one of his confidential nobles.[3] According to Jalal Hisari, he used to perform the weighning ceremony once or twice a year, a privilege reserved for the Emperors only[4]. Finally, to say in the words of Shahnawaz Khan, he acquired so much territories, wealth, popularity with prestige that no territorial chief could become his equal[5].

Bir Singh Deo died a natural death at Orchha in 1627[6] and succeeded by his eldest son Jujhar Singh[7].

(iii) RAJA JUJHAR SINGH (1627-1635)

The history of the period corresponding from 1627-1635 for about eight years under Jujhar Singh[8] attracted the attention of contemporary chronicles[9] so much that they considered it as one of the most important period during the reign of emperor Shahjahan. The modern writers[10] dealing with the history of Shahjahan have also discussed

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1. See the map.
2. *Dilkusha*, p. 3a.
3. *Early Travels in India*, (1583-1619), ed. William Foster, p. 163.
4. Balkrishna Brahman, *Gwalior Nama*, p. 138a.
5. *Masirul-Umara*, I, p. 424.
6. Ibid; *A ContemporaryDutch Chronicle of India*, p. 88.
7. *Tuzuk*, p. 356.
8. See, the family chart of Bundelas of Orchha.
9. *Badshahnamas* of Mirza Amin Qazwini, or 173, f. 152a, Lahori and Waris; *Gwaliornama* of Balkrishan Brahman, Ms. Br. Mues. No. 16859 1-20. These primary Persian souces provide a detail history of Jujhar Singh's rebellion and after math.
10. *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, by B.P. Saxena, Allahabad, 1958, pp. 79-93; *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, by R.S. Sharma, Bombay (2nd ed.) 1962, p. 86.

Jujhar Singh's activities but have concentrated their attention mainly on his rebellions. Both the revolts (in 1628 and 1635 respectively) greatly affected the equilibirium of peace in the Bundelkhand region and the loyalty of the Bundela family to the imperial house established and maintained by Bir Singh Deo during the reign of emperor Jahangir[1]. As a consequence, a large part of territories inherited by Jujhar Singh from his father[2] were annexed and the rest of the territory was ruined because of large scale military operation. Moreover, except for Pirthvi Raj, the only serviving son of Jujhar Singh the other family members were either slain or punished.

Jujhar Singh was the eldest son of Bir Singh Deo[3]. He had a number of brothers and sons[4]. The contemporary or near contemporary sources fail to provide us a detailed information about his early life except that in 1623 he held the rank of 2,000/1,000[5] and accompanied Bir Singh Deo in a number of expeditions and that in absence of his father from his *watan* (Orchha) he managed the affairs of Orchha and his other *jagirs* in the *suba* of Malwa and Narwar[6]. He was also declared as heir by Bir Singh Deo in the early years of his reign[7].

In 1627, after the death of his father Jujhar Singh became the ruler of Orchha. Emperor Jahangir also

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1. See, the account of Bir Singh Deo.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 604-5; *Bir Charitra*, p. 545; *Tuzuk*, II, p. 356. Rani Parvati was the mother of Jujhar Singh (*Bir Charitra*, p. 487).
4. For details see the family chart of Orchha rulers.
5. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 253.
6. *Arzdasht* of Muzaffar Barha in Balkrishan Brahman, p. 4a-b; *Nainsi Ri Khyat*, p. 128. For the *jagirs* held by Bir Singh Deo in different *subas*, see his account.
7. *Bir Charitra*, p. 610.

recognised him by granting *tika* and the entire territories held by Bir Singh Deo[1]. Soon after he was promoted to the rank of 4,000/4,000. Thus, Jujhar Singh inherited vast territories from his father[2]. Besides, he had about 12,000 strong cavalany and 50,000 infantry at his disposal[3].

We have no information about Jujhar Singh's attitude during the accession crisis following the death of Jahangir. But he presented himself at the court on April 10, 1628[4] and offered his submission and presented 1,000 *muhr*, 1,000 rupees and an elephant as tribute[5]. Emperor Shahjahan promoted him to the rank of 5,000/4,000 by increasing 1,000 *zat* in his rank. He was also given customary robes of honour alongwith other nobles. While celebration were in progress Jujhar Singh suddenly fled from the court in the night and came to Orchha[6].

Almost all contemporary accounts have discussed the issue of flight of Jujhar Singh at some length and have given their own version of the event. However, Qazwini and Shaikh Jalal Hisari give specific reasons for his flight. They mention that after his accesion Shahjahan set up an

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1. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 356; *Masirul-Umara*, I, p. 756.

2. See, few last pages of Bir Singh Deo's account.

3. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, III, pp. 61-62.

4. Lahori, I. p. 196; *Amal-i-Salih* of Salih Kambu, ed. by G. Yazdani Calcultta, Bibliothica India. I. P. 218. Cf *Jhansi Gazetteer*, XXIV, states that towards the closing years of emperor Jahangir a rift and animity developed between him and Bir Singh Deo on account of latters suppression of *zamindars* in his neighbourhood. As a result, Bir Singh Deo's son Jujhar Singh was detained at the court. Ultimately, Bir Singh Deo predeceased the Emperor by a few months and immediately on the accession of Shahjahan Jujhar Singh fled from the court. But these facts are not corroborated by any contemporary or near contemporary source.

5. Qazwini , pt (b), p. 15; Lahori, I. p. 196; *Amal-i-Salih*, I. p. 218. Qazwini does not mention 1,000 rupees presented by Jujhar Singh to emperor Shahjahan.

6. Lahori, I. p. 182; *Amal-i-Salih*, I. p. 218.

inquiry to look into the illegal exaction of large amount of wealth and vast territories by Jujhar Singh's father Bir Singh Deo. When Jujhar Singh came to know of this he became suspicious and immediately decided to flee the court[1].

Lahori, although has not directly discussed the causes of Jujhar Singh's flight but the details given by him suggest that his flight was because of suspicion from both sides. He writes that taking advantage of confusion during last years of Jahangir's reign Bir Singh Deo accumulated great wealth and occupied vast territories from his neighbouring states. Lahori further writes that Jujhar Singh and his son Jagraj maintained large army and suppressed neighbouring *zamindars*. Their behaviour became very arrogant and it appears that they even ignored the imperial authority. When these developments came to the knowledge of emperor Shahjahan, he grew suspicious of Jujhar Singh's activities. He thought of taking immediate action against him after his accession[2] but the more serious problem in Kabul forced him to postpone it for the time being[3]. Thus, in a way the statement of Qazwini and Jalal Hisari are also indirectly corroborated by the version given by Lahori.

Another contributing factor for the flight of Jujhar Singh from the court and subsequent action against him was

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1. Qazwini, pt. (b), p. 168; *Gwaliornama*, p. 1402; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 15. The author of *Masirul-Umara* also mentions that when Shahjahan looked into the affairs, Jujhar Singh who had without any exertion, got much wealth which his father had accumulated became suspicious in accordance with the saying that. "The faithless are feerful" and relying upon his forts and jungles fled at mid-night from Akbarabad (Agra).

2. Lahori, I (b), p. 260; *Amal-i-Salih*, I. p. 247 and *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, III, pp. 61-62 also confirm the statement of Lahori.

3. Qazwini, pt. (b), p. 168 and Lahori, II, pp. 203-4, simply comment that the Emperor left the fate of Jujhar Singh in the hands of God for time being.

the cruelty and high-handedness of his son Jagraj towards his officials and relatives. He imprisoned Kirpa Ram Gaur[1] at Orchha, who, however, managed to escape towards Burhanpur and joined imperial service there. This incident took place at a time when Jujhar Singh had left Orchha for Agra to pay his respect to the Emperor[2]. Jujhar Singh's harsh and indifferent attitude towards his brothers and other relatives also contributed to his fall from imperial favour[3].

As soon as Shahjahan became (August, 1628) free from the Kabul problem; Mahabat Khan Khan Khanan was appointed in October, 1628 to look into the affairs of Jujhar Singh who had left the imperial court without the prior permission of the Emperor in spite of the fact that he was awarded a high *mansab* and robes of honour[4]. Jujhar Singh started mobilizing the army, strengthening the forts and fortifying the garrison soon after reaching Orchha. Being fully informed of the preparation of Jujhar Singh and his strength of men and material Shahjahan dispatched a well

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1 . Kirpa Ram Gaur was the *wakil* of Bir Singh Deo and his father Yadav Rai Guar served him in the capacity of commander in chief. Both of them were his faithful and devoted officials. The Gaurs occupied an important position during the time of Bir Singh Deo. It appears that Jagraj wanted to destroy their influence and hold they had established at the court of Orchha for a long time. *Bir Charitra*, p. 611.

2 . Qazwini, pt. (b), p. 169; doesn't mention the name of *wakil* but simply state that a number of people and officials were imprisoned and killed by Jagraj. From Shaikh Jalal Hisari (pt. b, p. 139) and *Chhatra Prakash* we come to know the name of *wakil* as Kirpa Ram Gaur. But he is said to have been imprisoned by Jujhar Singh as mentioned by the author of *Chhatra Prakash*.

3 . *Qazwini*, pt. (b), p. 169; *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 9-10. According to local tradition as cited in *Bundelkhand ka Sankshipt Itihas*, pp. 144-45. Jujahr Singh became very suspicions on account of some (unknown) reason against his brother Hardol around 1628. He hatched a conspiracy and got him killed. When this treacherous act of Jujhar Singh was reported to emperor Shahjahan he immediately issued an order to Mahabat Khan to lead an expedition against Jujhar Singh. Although the whole details about the killing of Hardol is not mentioned by Qazwini, but, in a way are fully corroborated by information provided in general. From the readings of *Zakhirat-al-Khawanin*, (III, p. 63) it is clear that Jujhar Sing was trying to get rid of his close reations so that he could remove all his possible rivals to his own line.

4 . Qazwini, pt. (b), pp. 155-168; Lahori, II, pp. 203-4, 246; *Gwaliornama* pt. (a). 140. It is important to note that the army sent against Nazr Muhammed was also deployed against Jujhar Singh after its return from Kabul in 1628.

equipped army under the command of experienced nobles. A three pronged attack was planned. It was also decided to block all the routes and passages which Jujhar Singh while experiencing his defeat could follow to escape[1].

The first division of the army was placed under the command of Mahabat Khan; Bhagwan Das Bundela brother of Jujhar Singh and other important nobles and *mansabdars* with 10,000 cavalary 2,000 matchlock men and 5,000 *beldars* (sappers). He, in accordance with the guidelines moved from Gwalior[2]. Khan Jahan Lodi, then the governor of Malwa was also ordered to lead the second division of the army. He was to proceed to his destination by the route of Chanderi[3]. Raja Bharat Bundela[4], the *raja* of Chanderi and an arch rival of Jujhar Singh and a claimant to the throne of Orchha was ordered to join Khan Jahan with all his forces. Raja Bithal Das Gaur[5] and certain other old nobles also accompanied the said Khan. This division of army had 8,000 cavalary 2,000 mathlockmen and 500 *beldars* (sappers) at its disposal. Finally Abdullah Khan, the *faujdar* of Kannauj and Bahadur Khan were to enter Orchha from the east with a force that comprised 7,000 cavalary, 2,000 matchlockmen (*tufangchi*) and 500 sappers[6]. Other important

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1. Qazwini pt. (b) p. 168; Balkrishan Brahman, p. 140 (a).
2. Qazwini, p. 169; Lahori, I. p. 240. The other important nobles who accompanied Mahabat Khan were namely Sayyed Muzaffar Khan Barha, Dilawar Khan, Islam Khan, Raja Ram Das and others. At the time of their departure, as usual, they were rewarded and promoted according to their position.
3. Qazwini, pt. (b). pp. 169-71; Lahori, I, pp. 240-41; *Amal-i-Salih*. I, pp. 242-43. The other nobles and *mansabdars* who were directed to assist Khan Jahan Lodi were Safdar Khan, the *taiyuldar* or *faujdar* of Sironj Balbhadra Skekhawat, Raja Girdhar and Pirkhan. Nuruddin Quli was appointed as news writer (*waqa-i-navees*) to this division of army.
4. For details see the account of Bharat Bundela of Chanderi.
5. The Gaurs as metioned, who enjoyed important position under Bir Singh Deo became very hostile towards his successor, Jujhar Singh, due to the imprisonment of Kirpa Ram Gaur by Jagraj. The Gaurs took active part against the Bundelas during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Taking advantage of their hostility the Mughals fully exploited their service in Bundelkhand mainly against the rebellious Bundelas. For details see, *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 19-20. *Masirul-Umara*, pp. 78-92.
6. Qazwini, pt. (b) pp. 169-70; Lahori, I, pp. 41-42; *Amal-i-Salih*, I. p. 243.

nobles like Pahar Singh Bundela[1] and Kishan Singh Bhadoria were ordered to co-operate Bahadur Khan. Besides, Asaf Khan (*Yamin-ud-daula*) also joined them with 2,000 cavalary. In all the total strength of the Mughal army was 27,000 troopers 6,000 musketeers and 1,500 sappers[2]. Shahjahan himself reached Gwalior from Agra to raise the morale of the forces[3].

It is interesting to note that three Bundela chiefs, Bhagwan Das of Datiya Raja Bharat Bundela of Chanderi and Pahar Singh of Iraj were not placed under the command of a single imperial commander but were ordered to join the three different heads of the forces. It clearly shows that in spite of their hostility towards Jujhar Singh, Shahjahan was still suspicious of them and because of that he decided to post them separately. However, Shahjahan successfully untilised the rift that existed among the Bundelas to the advantage of the imperial army. The presence of some of the Bundela chiefs also helped to placate the inhabitants of Bundelkhand.

The three armies from different directions approached the fort of Orchha which was being defended by Jujhar Singh with a large army[4]. He was consequently invested therein. Realising that the imperial army was much larger and it would be very much difficult to save his kingdom, Jujhar Singh opened a negotiation with Mahabat Khan[5]. He

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1. He was the brother of Jujhar Singh and at this time the *zamindar* of Iraj. *Amal-i-Salil*, I. p. 244; *Masirul-Umara*, I. p. 425.

2. Abha Singh in her 'Jujhar Singh's rebellion. A Reappraisal', IHC, 1990 has failed to count 2.000 army of Asaf Khan. Besides, in regard to the total strength of sappers she mentions only 500 omitting 1,000 sappers.

3. Qazwini, pt. (b), p. 171; Lahori, II, p. 242; *Gwaliornama*, pt. a p. 140.

4. Lahori, I, pp. 246-47 Khan Khanan (Mahabat Khan) arrived from Gwalior to a distance of 16 *kos* from the fort; Khan Jahan reached from Narwar within 3 *kos* and Abdullah Khan from Kalpi, within 15 *kos*. Also see, *Zakhirat-ul-Kawanin*, II, pp. 84-88.

5. Lahori, I. p. 246.

agreed to pay not only war indemnity but also to serve in the imperial army with full devotion and sincerity[1] While these negotiations were in progress, the imperial army under the command of Abdullah Khan, Pahar Singh and others attacked the fort of Iraj[2] from all sides and inflicted a crushing defeat on rebel[3]. Pahar Singh who played an important role in this battle was given a robe of honour[4].

Jujhar Singh once again appealed to Mahabat Khan to intercede on his behalf with the Emperor. We have no information about the negoitations but we are informed that Mahabat Khan presented him before the Emperor. Jujhar Singh paid a war indemnity of 15 *lakhs*[5] and 1,000 *muhr* and 40 elephants as *nazr*[6]. The Emperor not only pardoned him but he was reinstated to his previous *mansab* of 5,000/4,000 and the *gaddi* of Orchha. However, certain areas of his *jagir* in Malwa were taken away from him and assigned to Abdullah Khan, Sayyid Muzaffar Barha, Pahar Singh, Khan Jahan Lodi and Rashid Khan in reward for their services during the seige of Iraj[7]. It appears that during the same period Chaurgarh was also granted to Prem Narain, the Gond chief, which Bir Singh Deo had captured during the last years of emperor Jahangir and since then it had been a part of Bundela territory[8].

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1. Qazwini, II, p. 248; Lahori, I, p. 246.
2. According to *Jhansi Gazetteer*, (pp. 254-56), the fort of Iraj was constructed by Bir Singh Deo and situated on the right bank of river Betwa, 42 m. north of Jhansi proper. It was considered as one of the strongest forts of the Bundelas; hence on this Jujhar Singh rallied more.
3. Qazwini, pt. b. p. 171; Lahori, II, p. 248; Inayat Khan, p. 29; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 247; All the sources except Lahori's mention that about 3,000 Bundelas were killed in the battle which ensued at Iraj. Lahori gives the number of 2,000 only (p. 249). According to the author of *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, (III, p. 63) it was one of the fierce battles ever fought in the history of the Mughal period.
4. Qazwini, pt. b., p. 171.
5. *Ibid*, p. 172; Lahori, I. p. 248. Cf. Inayat Khan (p. 31) mentions that Jujhar Singh paid only 5 lakh of rupees as war reparation.
6. Lahori, I. p. 248. Cf. Qazwini, pt. b. p. 172, there is no refernce of elephants.
7. Qazwini, pt. b. p. 172; Lahori, I, pp. 254-55; *Amal-i-Salil*, I. p. 247.
8. Op. cit.

After the peace settlement of January, 1629 Jujhar Singh was sent to the Deccan under Azam Khan against Nizam-ul-Mulk who had given shelter to the imperial rebel Khan Jahan Lodi. At the time of his departure to the Deccan he was awarded the title of *'Raja'* and promoted to the rank of 5,000/5,000[1].

In 1631, Jujhar Singh performed meritorious service in the battle fought at Dharur. He succeeded in killing a large number of the Deccanis and making prisoner to Sidi Salim, the *quiledar* of the fort and the family members of Tanman and Itibar Rao, maternal grand father of Nizamul Mulk. Thereafter, he infilicted crushing defeat on the enemy in several battles during the seige of the fort of Udgir. On account of his active participation and role at Dharur and Udgir, Jujhar Singh was subsequently sent to help the imperial army at Paredna. He served in the Deccan for about three years admirably[2]. (1629-32)

Jujhar Singh returned to Orchha sometimes in 1633 after taking permission from Mahabat Khan who had taken over as viceroy of the Deccan. His son Jagraj however continued to serve in the Deccan during his absence[3]. Although Jujhar Singh returned from there with the intention of recovering all the territories that had been confiscated by Shahjahan but having suffered earlier he wanted to make full preparation before beginning the hostilities[4]. As we see that for about two years Jujhar Singh took no initiative; it seems that during these years he tried to strengthen his position by raising troops and creating good relations with his other family members[5].

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1. Lahori, I, pp. 255, 294-96; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, pp. 279-80; *Masirul-Umara*, II, pp. 214, 218. Qazwini does not mentions the promotion of Jujhar Singh.
2. For details see, Qazwini, pt. b., pp. 215, 240, pt. C., p. 243; Lahori I, p. 359, pt. b, p. 24.
3. Qazwini, pt. c. p. 343; Lahori, I, pt. b, p. 94.
4. *Ibid*, pt. b. p. 242; Ibid I, p. 411. None of the above sources mention the exact date or month when Jujhar Singh returned to Orchha from the Deccan. But he is not referred in the Deccan from the 6th R. Y. of Shahjahan. In course of the narration of events leading to 6th R. Y. the presence of Jagraj in place of Jujhar singh is reported. On the basis of these indirect refernces we may conclude that Jujhar Singh left the Deccan sometimes in 6th R. Y.
5. According to Shaikh Jalal Hisari, Jujhar Singh accepted the suzerainty of Shahjahan in 1629 due to his weak position but since then he had never been loyal to the imperial authority *Gwaliornama*, pt. a. p. 140.

In 1635 Jujhar Singh attacked Prem Narain, the *zamindar* of Kara[1] and asked him to vacate Chauragarh and handover all those territories which were taken from him in 1629[2]. On Prem Narain's refusal Jujhar Singh defeated and killed the Gond chief alongwith his ministers including Jaideo Bajpayee and all those family members who were present at that time at the fort of Chaurgarh[3]. Jujhar Singh occupied Chaurgarh and its neighbouring areas; a huge booty also fell in his hands[4]. Prem Narain's son Hirde Ram fled to Malwa and requested Khan Dauran for immediate help. Having been informed of these developments the Emperor immediately despatched Sunder Kaviraj[5] to Jujhar Singh with the instruction that either he should return Chaurgarh and other areas occupied by him to the Gonds or give up the *Jagirs*[6] held by him in the vicinity of Orchha, Malwa and Narwar[7]. He was also asked to send Rs. 10 *lakhs* out of Prem Narain's wealth[8] and sent his son. Jagraj to the imperial court as a token of loyalty[9]. Jujhar Singh refused to accept these terms.

From the above it is quite clear that Shahjahan took a leninent view by asking Jujhar Singh to return the territories to Gond chief and demanding only part of the booty which he had exacted from Chaurgarh. No military action was even contemplated at that time. But Jujhar singh refused to accept these terms and sent message to his Jagraj who was at Balaghat to come to Orchha alongwith his retainers[10].

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1. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 343; Lahori, I, b, p. 95; *Gwaliornama*, pt. a, p. 141; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, II, p. 63.
2. *Ibid*; Lahori does not mention the reason of attack on Chaurgarh by Jujhar Singh.
3. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 343; Lahori,.I, b, p. 94. The author of *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, (III, p. 63) states that Prem Narain was treacherously killed by Jujhar Singh in a surprise attack.
4. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 343; Lahori, I, b, p. 94.
5. Sunder Kaviraj was the head *prohit* of Jujhar Singh. (*Bir Charitra*, p. 610).
6. Lahori (I, b, p. 95) uses the term *iqta*.
7. *Nainsi-Ri-Khyat*, p. 128.
8. For details see, Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 343-46; Lahori, I, b, pp. 95-96.
9. *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 80.
10. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 344; Lahori, I, b, p. 95.

Jujhar Singh suffered a set back as soon as the hostilities began. Jagraj who fled from Balaghat was persued by Khan Dauran and Pahar Singh and Chandraman, the uncles of Jagraj and was overtaken by them at Ashta. A fierce battle was fought between the rebels and Khan Dauran, in which more than one hundred troopers of Jagraj were killed[1]. Jagraj himself was seriously injured but managed to escape and joined his father at Dhamuni[2].

Jujhar Singh's rejection of imperial orders and flight of Jagraj from Balaghat were considered a rebellius act and Shahjahan reacted violently. He despatched a large army of 20,000 troopers under the command of Abdullah Khan Feroz Jang, Sayyd Khan Jahan and Khan Dauran[3]. The Bundela chiefs Debi Singh and Chandramani were also ordered to assist the imperial army. The overall command of the army was given to Prince Aurangzeb under the tutelege of Shaista Khan. Such heavy mobilzation of royal forces again threatened Jujhar Singh and he approached Asaf Khan for royal favour[4].

According to the author of *Chhatra Prakash* Jujhar Singh convened a war council to discuss the situation arising out of the approaching imperial attack on Dhamuni. His ministers were of the view that to fight the imperial army at this juncture would be a disaster; the best course would be to sue for peace. But Champat Rai and his son

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1. Qazwini, (pt. c. p. 344) specifically mentions that hundred of Jagraj's troopers were killed. Lahori (I, pt. b, p. 95) states that only few were killed while Inayat Khan gives the figure around 250.
2. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 344; Lahori, I, b, pp. 95-96; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 79. Shahjahan's *farman* addressed to Masihulzaman, the *hakim* of Surat (*Surat Documents*, pp. 63b, 64a) and Qazwini. (pp. 252a, 354b and 356a) mention the strength of the fort of Dhamuni in great details. The walls of the *burj* of Dhamuni were 10 *gaz* wide and on three sides deep frenches of 20 *zara* deep were dug and only with the help of gun-powder it could be destroyed. According to Lahori (I, b, p. 107). This fort was constructed by Bir Singh Deo. For more details see. *District Gazetteer, Sagar*, pp. 224-25.
3. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 345; Lahori, I, b, p. 96; Cf. *Chhatra Prakash*, (pp. 15-16), the total strength of the imperial army comprised 60,000 horsemen.
4. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 345; Lahori, I, b, p. 97.

Sujan Rai strongly opposed any peace negotiations with the imperial army and stressed the need for immediate attack. However, the opinion of the ministers was taken into account and Jujhar Singh approached Asaf Khan and sued for peace[1].

Accordingly, Sunder Kaviraj was again sent by Jujhar Singh but this time Shahjahan made fresh demands which included Rs. 30 lakhs, in place of the earlier Rs. 10 lakhs. Besides, in place of Chaurgarh Biyanawan was now demanded. These demands were far more than what Jujhar Singh was expecting. Therefore, Jujhar Singh once again refused to accept these demands and decided to challenge the imperial forces[2] over estimating the strength of his army and invincibility of the forts as pointed by the author of *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*[3].

The imperial forces under the command of Prince Aurangzeb collected together at Bhander[4] to make a combined attack. The strategy adopted to launch the offensive at this time (October, 1635) was different from that of the first followed in 1629. As mentioned, during the first campaign three pronged attack was launched on Jujhar Singh's territory while in the present compaign the combined Mughal army attacked Orchha. Having deputed 5,000 cavalary and 10,000 infantry to protect the said fort Jujhar Singh alongwith the remaining army, his family members, and precious materials took refuge in the fort of Dhamuni. In October, 1635 a fierce battle was fought at Orchha in which a large number of troopers from both the

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1. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 18. The author criticises the opinion of the ministers and its execution by Jujhar Singh. He further states that the refusal of the proposal of Champat Rai by Jujhar Singh was a great fault on latter's part which led to his defeat and ruin.

2. Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 344-45; Lahori, I, b, pp. 98-100; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, pp. 82-83.

3. According to *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, (III, pp. 61-62), Jujhar Singh had 12,000 cavalary and 50,000 infantry at his disposal.

4. Bhander formed a part of *mahal* of Iraj during the period under discussion, situated on the left side of the river (N. 25°-44'-E 78°-45'). *Gwalior Gazetteer*, p. 203.

sides were killed. The fort of Orchha, however, was captured with great difficulty[1]. Raja Debi Singh who played a crucial role in the capture of the fort was assigned the fort and its adjoining areas. He was also promoted to the rank of 3,000/3,000 and awarded the title of Raja[2].

After the conquest of Orchha on 14th October, 1635 the imperial army reached Dhamuni[3]. By this time Jujhar Singh had already left the place after demolishing all the inner and outer buildings of the fort and stationed himself at *pargana* Khatola near Chaurgarh, so that if Dhamuni was captured he could easily move to Chaurgarh[4]. During the seige of the fort of Dhamuni a number of important nobles were killed on both the sides and Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung was seriously injured[5]. At last the imperialists succeeded in occupying the fort on 28th October, 1635[6]. As a reward for his meritorious deeds during the conquest of the fort Sardar Khan was appointed as the *quiledar* of the fort with an increased *mansab* of 3,000/3,000[7]. Sayyid Khan Jahan Muzaffar Khan Barha[8] was appointed to unearth the hidden treasure of Jujhar Singh which the Bundelas had thrown down into the wells of Dhamuni and Datiya[9].

By the time the fort of Dhamuni was fully brought under the imperialist Jujhar Singh had reached the town of

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1. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 344; Lahori, I, b, pp. 103-6 and *Amal-i-Salih*, II, pp. 83-87 all have discussed the battle and occupation of Orchha by imperial army in very detail.
2. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 345; Lahori, II, p. 87; Cf. Bhimsen, *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha*, India Office Library, MSS. 94 (tr. & ed. V. G. Khobrekar, Bombay, 1972) seems to have confused the name of Debi Singh and in his place mentions the name of Pahar Singh to have appointed as the 'Raja' of Orchha after its conquest in 1635.
3. At the time of its conquest the fort of Dhamuni was under the contrl of Ratna, one of the officers of Jujhar Singh, Qazwini, pt. c, p. 351.
4. *Ibid*; Lahori, I, b, pp. 106-7; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, pp. 87-88.
5. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, III, p. 60.
6. Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 351-53; Lahori, Ib, pp, 108-10; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, pp. 88-90. All these sources mention the conquest of Dhamuni in very detail.
7. Lahori, Ib, p. 123.
8. For a detail account of Barha family members and their position under Akbar and Jahangir see. Afzal Husain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir : A STudy of Family Groups*, Manohar Publication, Delhi, 1999, Chapter V, pp. 104-15.
9. Shahjahan's *farman*, *Surat Documents*, pp. 636, 64a; Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 352, 354, 356.

Shahpur, four miles from Chaurgarh and sought the help from the Raja of Deogarh. Unfortunately he got no assistance from that quarter, because the Raja had expired recently. Seeing no help coming from any other direction he destroyed the canon, set on fire other things and fled towards the Deccan with his family and such goods he could carry with him. Thus, the fort of Chaurgarh was occupied in November, 1635 without any resistance. Ahdad Khan, Sher Khan and Kanwar the *zamindar* of Chaurgarh were appointed with a considerable force consisting mainly of Gonds, the bitter enemy of the Bundelas at Chaurgarh[1].

It was reported by Sangram the *zamindar* of Ginnur to Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung and Khan Dauran that Jujhar Singh had proceeded towards the Deccan at the head of a very small army and with his family and treasure. Becase a large number of his retainers were killed in different battles and several important chiefs had deserted him when they realised that Jujhar Singh had lost his ground. It is important to note that even Champat Rai, one of the most loyal follower of the family of Bir Singh Deo also deserted Jujhar Singh after the fall of Orchha and Dhamuni[2].

From the accounts of Lahori and Farid Bhakkari, the author of *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanini* we come to know of the total loss of Jujhar Singh's troopers during his second rebellion. Bhakkari gives the total military strength of Jujhar Singh to 12,000 cavalary and 50,000 infantry on the eve of the revolt. While according to Lahori, Jujhar Singh had 2,000 cavalary and 4,000 infanty at his disposal after the conquest of Orchha and Dhamuni by the imperialists. In the light of the above details we can safely conclude that he lost nearly 10,000 cavalary and 46,000 infantry including those who deserted him in due course of his rebellion[3].

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1. For more details see, Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 353-54; Lahori, Ib, pp. 110-17; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, pp. 89-90.
2. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 154; Lahori, Ib, p. 111.
3. Lahori, Ib, p. 111; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, III, p. 64.

Abdullah Khan and Khan Dauran started pursuing Jujhar Singh while at the same time, Mukhlis Khan and Mukarramat Khan were oppointed to reduce the fort of Jhansi, one of the important strongholds of Jujhar Singh[1]. The *quiledar* however surrendered the fort without fighting in Nov. 1635. After its conquest, Girdhar, brother of Bithaldas was appointed as *quiledar* with a **mansab** of 500/500[2] . The other important forts like Datiya[3] , Iraj[4] and Antri which also belonged to Jujhar Singh were brought under imperial control without much resistance and placed under various Mughal officers[5]. Abdullah Khan passed through Garh-Katanga and Lanji[6] hotly persuing Jujhar Singh and overtook him at Chanda where a fierce battle ensued. Jujhar Singh and Jagraj took to flight abandoning their standards, kettle-drums and elphants[7]. A number of Bundela ladies performed *jauhar*[8] and Durgbhan, son of Jujhar Singh and Durjal Sal, son of Yagraj were made prisoner. The imperialist continued the persuit of the rebels but Udaibhan and other sons of Jujhar Singh alongwith Shyam Dauda their guardian (factotum of Jujhar Singh) managed to escape to Golconda.

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1 · *Ibid*, pp. 119-21. According to *Bir Charitra* (pp. 551, 557) the fot of Jhansi was constructed by Bir Singh Deo and originally called as Balwant Sagar. Also see, *Imperial Gazetteer*, pp. 70-71 and *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 44.

2 · For more details see, Lahori, Ib, p. 119.

3 · *Ibid*, p. 121. The fort at Datiya was also constructed by Bir Singh Deo. The place comprised a part of Jhansi principality.

4 · Ibid. After the conquest of the fort of Iraj it was placed under the charge of Shujat Khan.

5 · *Ibid*, p. 111.

6 · According to *Masirul-Umara*, (II, p. 214) Garh-Katanga and Lanji belonged to the territory of the Gond chiefs.

7 · Qazwini, pt. c, p. 354; Lahori, Ib, pp. 113-14.

8 · *Shahjahan's Farman*, p. 642. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 358.

Rani Parvati, the principal wife of Bir Singh Deo and mother of Jujhar Singh succumbed to her injuries[1].

In December, 1635 some Gonds discovered Jujhar Singh and Jagraj who had taken shelter in the forest after their escape from Chanda and put them to death. The Gonds informed Khan Dauran about the killing of the rebels. He went there and severed their heads and sent to Abdullah Khan and the latter sent them to the Emperor. Soon afterwards Khan Dauran also reached there with huge booty collected from the Raja of Chanda[2] and some family members of the rebels who had fled to Golconda[3]. According to Lahori and Tabatabai, Udaibhan and Shyam Dauda were ordered to embrace Islam and on their refusal they were executed by imperial orders[4].

The grand success of the Mughal against Jujhar Singh was considered as great achievement of Shahjahan. It is borne out by the fact that the Mughal emperor proudly made reference to this victory in the letter sent to Shah of Persia alongwith his envoy in March, 1637[5].

The strong action taken against Jujhar Singh's family and the destruction carried out at Orchha and other

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1. Exhaustive details of the war is given by Qazwini, pp. 350-62; Lahori, pp. 94-100, 106-18; *Gwalior nama*, pp. 140-45b and B. P. Saxena.

2. Taking the advantage of turmoil following the revolt of Jujhar Singh the Gond *zamindar* of Chanda, Sangram, plundered the Bundela territories and amassed great wealth.

3. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 359; Lahori, Ib, pp. 139-40, 143-44. Also see, *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 116.

4. Lahori, Ib, p. 133; Jalaluddin Tabatabi, *Padshahnama*, Rampur, Ms. p. 292b.

5. Lahori, Ib, p. 302.

places[1] are contrary to Shahjahan's policy towards other local chiefs. B. P. Saxena and R. S. Sharma regard these actions simply as emperor's religious frenzy[2]. But if we go through the details of Bir Singh Deo's activities in the closing years of Jahangir's reign and Jujhar Singh's career as discussed above it would clearly appear that a powerful section of the Mughal nobility[3] was very hostile with the Bundelas. There were also complaints of very serious nature against Bir Singh Deo. In spite of that Shahjahan after his accession took no action against Jujhar Singh; however an inquiry was contemplated. Jujhar Singh's behaviour after his flight from the court remained dubious, although Shahjahan continued to adopt conciliatory attitude; on the eve of both the rebellions Sunder Kaviraj was despatched for negotiations with Jujhar Singh and the latter refused to accept demands which forced the Emperor to take harsh action against him. Besides that Jujhar Singh adopted a very aggressive policy towards his brothers and other family members. Being hard pressed they appealed to the Emperor against Jujhar Singh's attitude and joined imperial service.

There was another important problem being faced by the Mughal administration in the region of Bundelkhand as a consequence of arrogant attitude and frequent rebellions

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1. According to Qazwini and Lahori, Shahjahan ordered the demolition of the lofty temple at Orchha and the top of the temple at Chaurgarh. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 356; Lahori, Ib, pp. 120-21. The author of *Masirul-Umara* (I, p. 424) mentions that the temple at Orchha was constructed by Bir Singh Deo.

2. *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p. 89 and *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, p. 86.

3. Including Rajputs who considered the Bundelas socially inferior. For details see the account of Bir Singh Deo.

of Jujhar Singh. The chiefs of Antri, Iraj and Bhander had stopped paying taxes to the imperial government taking advantage of the disturbed condition arising out of the Bundela rebellion[1]. Khan-i-Jahan Barha whose *jagir* was in Bundelkhand in an *arzdasht* complained that on account of the rebellion of the Bundelas no revenue could be realised from Banyan to Kachhwaha yielding 2 crore *dams* in *rabi* season only. He lamented that from the last five years (1629 to 1634) not a single penny had been collected and in the current year (1635) also there was no chances of any collection due to the continuance of the rebellion[2]. Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung's representatives also reported to him that the peasants of Bundela territory had refused to pay taxes[3]. As a matter of fact the entire peasantry joined their chiefs in defying the imperial authority[4].

In these circumstances when Jujhar Singh rebelled again in 1635 Emperor's attitude became hardened. He decided to suppress him completely. In the compaign Jujhar Singh's brothers, Pahar Singh and Chandraman and the other Bundelas like Debi Singh joined imperial service and played an important role in suppressing the rebellion. It is possible that the family rivalry may have played also a crucial role in harsher punishment being awarded to Jujhar Singh and his family members.

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1. *Arzdasht* of Muzaffar Barha in *Gwaliornama*, p. 3a-b.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 5-7b.
3. *Ibid*, p. 115b.
4. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963, p. 346. He further states that the rebels were supported by the *zamindars* and peasants in their respective principalities since it provided an opportunity to evade paying the state demand (revenue). In regards to the Bundela rebellion he suggets that it was neither a dynastic affair nor a war for the rights of royal household and that the use of Debi Singh and Pahar Singh by Shahjahan for local support failed to achieve success.

Taking a serious view of the situation Shahjahan also resorted to temple destruction and such other orthodox actions. Because after this incident in the entire period of Shahjahan's reign we get no other reference of a temple destruction or any other harsher action taken against Budelas.

After the suppression of the revolt large part of the Bundela territory yielding about 50 lakhs of rupees was annexed and became part of the Khalsa[1]. Almost all important forts in Bundelkhand with the exception of Orchha which was granted to Debi Singh were taken over by Mughal army. A huge treasure comprising one crore of rupees (which was unearthed from jungles and wells) weapons and other valuables were also captured by the imperial army[2]. Besides that the entire army of Jujhar Singh perished in the course of rebellion. It is significant to note that after this no other member of Bir Singh Deo and Ram Shah ever rebelled against the Mughal imperial authority. They served loyally under Shahjahan and Aurzangzeb although peace could not be restored completely in Bundelkhand because of the frequent rebellion of Champat Rai and Chhatrasal which will be discussed at the appropriate place.

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1. Shahjahan's *farman*, p. 64a; Qazwini, pt. c, p. 358; Lahori II, p. 117; *Masirul-Umara*, II, pp. 215-16.

2. *Ibid*, Cf. Bhimsen (p. 3a) who states that the total wealth seized by the imperial forces and deposited in the royal treasury exceeded Rs. 2 crores. It appears that he has included the revenue of Bundela territories annexed and value of other articles seized from Jujhar Singh in course of rebellion.

(iv) BIKARMAJIT (JAGRAJ)

Bikarmajit more popularly known as Jagraj was the eldest son of Jujhar Singh[1]. He played an important role in almost all important events connected with his father from the time of the accession of Shahjahan and got killed alongwith him as a rebel[2].

Jagraj was given a *mansab* of 1,000/1,000 by Emperor Shahjahan after his accession[3]. When Jujhar Singh proceeded to court to offer his submission to Shahjahan Jagraj was left to look after the administration of Orchha and other *jagris*. During his father's absence, as mentioned earlier, Jagraj took strong actions against older nobility which mainly comprised of Gond chiefs[4]. There are also references of harsh measures being adopted by him against peasantry but no specific reason for these actions has been discussed[5]. While thse operations were in progress Jujhar Singh fled from the court and came back to Orchha. The Emperor took action and sent a strong army to Bundelkhand. The imperialists attacked the fort of Iraj. A fierce battle took place between the Mughal army and the forces of Jagraj in which a large numbre of Bundelas were killed. At last, Jujhar Singh sued for peace and also agreed to serve in the Deccan. When Jujhar Singh proceeded to the Deccan the administration of Orchha and *jagris* in Malwa and Narwar were again left to the charge of Jagraj[6].

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1. Qazwini, pt. b, p. 209; Lahori, I, p. 296: *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 305, *Masirul-Umara*, I, p. 727. Cf. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, (III, pp. 61-63), the author is confused while referring to the name of Jagraj. He mentions the name of Jagraj in place of Jujhar Singh and on this basis he calls the former as son of Bir Singh Deo. Because of this confusion and improper placement of name the author provides the details of Jujhar Singh in the name of Jagraj.
2. See the proceeding details.
3. Lahori, I. p. 183; *Masirul-Umara*, I, p. 727.
4. For details see the account of Jujhar Singh.
5. Shaikh Jalal Hisari, pt. b, p. 139.
6. Lahori, Ib, p. 294; *Amal-i-Shalih*, I, pp. 279-80; *Zaikhirat-ul-Khawanin*, II, pp. 91-2; *Masirul-Umara*, II, pp. 214-18. For more details see, the first rebellion of Jujhar Singh.

In the 2nd R. Y. (15 October, 1629) Khan Jahan Lodi rebelled and fled from the court and proceeded towards Deccan through the Bundela territory[1].The official historian of Shahjahan, Lahori, not only accuses Jagraj of providing Khan-i-Jahan Lodi safe passage for Deccan but also of misguiding the imperial army when it reached in persuit of the rebels in his territory[2]. He also provided help to other Afghan chiefs like Bhalol Miana, the *jagirdar* of Balapur and Sikander Dotani of Jalna who had rebelled and were disprately trying to join Khan-i-Jahan *Lodi*. As a consequence of Jagraj's disloyalty Khan-i-Jahan succeeded in escpaing to Daultabad and the compaign completely failed[3].

It is signficant to note that no contemporary account mentions the reasons for Jagraj's hostility against imperial authority. Apparently Jagraj could neither reconcile to his defeat at the hands of imperial army at Iraj in 1629 nor to the loss of large part of his territory including Chaurgarh as a consequence of settlement. The help given to Khan-i-Jahan Lodi could have been an expression of his dissatisfaction and anger. This could be only explanation of his help to Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.

When Jujhar Singh was informed of these developments he reprimanded his son of his actions and advised him to be loyal to the Emperor[4].

Khan-i-Jahan Lodi could not stay at the court of Nizam Shah for long. In January, 1631 under the pressure of the Mughal imperial authority he was compelled to leave the court. Khan-i-Jahan was so much sure of the help and co-

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1. Lahori, Ib, pp. 294-95.
2. *Ibid*. The imperial army was under the command of Ruknal Sultanate, Khwaja Abul Hasan, the grand father of the author of *Shahjahannama*, Inayat Khan.
3. Qazwini, pt. b, p. 185; Lahori, Ib, pp. 290-92; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 270.
4. Lahori, Ib, p. 292.

operation of Jagraj that after reaching Malwa he followed the same route (which he took while fleeing to Deccan in October, 1629) to reach Kalpi without any trouble.[1] But he was surprised to note that the attitude of Jagraj had completely changed. As a result of the instructions of his father Jagraj boldly challenged him at Nimi[2] near Bhander where a holly contested battle was fought. Although Khan-i-Jahan Lodi managed to escape but Darya Khan Rohilla, his son and more than 400 Afghan soldiers were killed.[3] This battle adversely affected the fortunes of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.[4] The severed head of Darya Khan was proudly presented by Jagraj to Shahjahan[5] who promoted him to the rank of 2,000/2,000 and awarded the lofty title of Jagraj (''Lord of the World'') for his valour, courage and loyalty.[6]

In 1633 Jagraj proceeded to the Deccan to serve on behalf of his father who had come to his *watan* after taking leave from Mahabat Khan. During his two years (1633-35) stay in the Deccan he remained engaged under Mahabat Khan and Khan Zaman. During the seige of Daultabad fort (1633) he badly defeated a numerically superior army of Nizamul Mulk trying to reinforce the garrision. On a different occasion Jagraj and his Bundela followers completely frustratred the attempt of the Deccanis who attacked the imperial division led by Lahrasp, son of Mahabat Khan to capture the provision and other materials.[7]

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1. Qazwini, pt. b, p. 208; Lahori, p. 338.
2. The place formed a part of the *pargana* of Iraj, situated (25'-44N-78' E) on the left bank of the river Pahuj (*Gwalior Gazetteer*, p. 23).
3. Qazwini, pt. b, p. 208; Lahori, I, p. 338; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, II, pp. 93-101.
4. *Ibid*, p. 217; Ibid, p. 348; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, pp. 306-7.
5. *Ibid*, p. 209; Ibid, pp. 338-39.
6. *Ibid.* Ibid; The authors of *Amal-i-Salih* and *Shahjahan-nama* simply mention that Jagraj was honoured with superior *mansab*, (Vol. I, p. 305).
7. Qazwini, pt. b, pp. 285-86; Lahori, I, p. 509; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 449.

When the seige of the fort of Daultabad was in progress Jagraj was deputed against the Deccani who únder Randola, grandson of Yaqut Khan had captured a number of places in the town of Khirki. Jagraj was attacked by the Deccani forces several times on his way from Daultabad to Khirki but he repulsed the enemy avery time. Afterwards, the forces of Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi made a joint attack on Jagraj. A fierce battle ensued at Khirki in which a considerable number of Deccani soldiers and their five officers of great repute were killed by the Bundelas. A large booty also fell into the hands of Jagraj[1]. The severed heads of the Deccani officers were presented to Mahabat Khan by Jagraj afer his return to Daultabad from Khirki for which he was highly praised by the Viceroy[2].

Besides rendering valuable sevices at Khirki Jagraj played an important role when he was appointed for the rescue of Khan Zaman, who while proceeding to Khirki with an immense treasure and war equipments was attacked by a large force of the enemy consisting of 9,000 troopers. The official and contemporary chronicles of Shahjahan have praised Jagraj for his timely help to Khan Zaman. They have also credited him for safeguarding the imperial treasure consisting of 20,000 bullock loaded with grain, 6 lakhs of rupees and 100 mounds of gun powder[3].

After the defeat of the Deccani chiefs like Randola, Shahuji and Yaqut Khan by Jagraj and Khan Zaman they went to Uparkatka and soon after attacked Lahrasp who with a small army was busy in occupying Amarkot, an outer fortification of Dualtabad fort. When Mahabt Khan came to know of the above development he immediately dispatched

1. For details of various skirmishes between Jagraj and the Deccanis see Qazwini, pt. b, pp. 286-87; Lahori, I, pp. 510-11; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, pp. 450-51.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 288; Ibid, pp. 510-17; Ibid, p. 452.

3. Qazwini, pt. b, pp. 289-90; Lahori, I, pp. 518-19; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 455.

Jagraj in advance from Khirki and himself followed him. Jagraj launched his offensive against the enemy after his arrival at Ambarkot and put Yaqut Khan, an Abyssinian chief of the Deccanis to death alongwith his other followers. The remaining troopers saved their lives by flight.[1]

The same year (1633) witnessed another hotly contested battle between Jagraj and Murari Pandit, the commander of Deccani forces in the suburb of Khirki. More than two hundred and fifty soldiers of Murari Pandit were killed by Jagraj.[2] Ultimately the garrison was reduced to acute distress and Fateh Khan the *quiledar* of Daultabad surrendered the fort to Mahabat Khan on 20th June 1633.[3]

The details so far discussed in the context of Jagraj's role in the conquest of the fort of Daultabad clearly show that he fought about six important battles against the Deccanis and in each one these he achieved victories. From a careful study of the details it also appears that Jagraj was appointed by Mahabat Khan mainly to deal with the enemy in the suburbs of Khirki to prevent them from approaching the fort of Daultabad.

The conquest of Daultabad (1633) was followed by the occupation of the fort of Parenda in 1634 by the imperialists. In course of the seige of the fort Jagraj who was busy in laying the mines was attacked by a large contigent of the Deccanis under Randola. Since the attack of the enemy was so sudden that Jagraj could save his life with great difficulty, but he retrieved his position shortly and he repulsed the enemy. Shortly afterwards Jagraj again defeated the Deccanis who attacked him for

1. *Qazwini,* pp. 295-96; Lahori, *p.* 521; *Amal-i-Salih*, p. 556. All these sources mention the fight between Jagraj and the Deccani in very details.

2. *Ibid*, p. 296; Ibid, pp. 522-23.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 297-98; Ibid, 524-31.

the second time to disrupt the mining operation. A number of them were taken prisoner by the Bundelas[1]. Jagraj was recalled from the fort of Parenda and appointed to guard the royal camp when Prince Shah Shuja and Mahabt Khan proceeded at Bir against Randola[2].

Being dissatisfied with the progress of the campaign Shah Jahan recalled Mahabat Khan from the Deccan in May 1634. Jagraj who was commanding the rear-guard of the imperial army on its way to Burhanpur was attacked by Adil Shahi forces near Bir, but they were successfully repulsed by him[3].

The death of Mahabat Khan in November, 1634 further aggrivated the Deccan problem[4]. Under the command of Shahuji, the Nizam Shahis and Shahuji took full advantage of the situation by regaining their territorial losses from the imperialsits. In January, 1635 Khan Zaman the *subedar* of Malwa, was appointed as the viceroy of the Deccan. Jagraj who had previously credited himself against the Deccanis was also deputed alongwith the new *subedar*. The imperialists under Khan Zaman started taking strong view against Shahuji and other Deccanis and achieved considerable success, when Jagraj's undoubted zeal and courage became known to Shahjahan he praised and awarded him a robe of honour at Balaghat[5].

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1. Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 316-20; Lahori, Ib, pp. 35-43.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 320-21; Ibid, pp. 44-46.
3. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 324; Lahori, Ib, pp. 46-48.
4. After the demise of Mahabat Khan the Deccan was divided into two distinct provinces. The first one comprised Balaghat, Daultabad and Ahmadnagar which was placed under Khan Zaman. The other one with Payinghat was put under the charge of Khan Dauran. Lahori, Ib, pp. 62-63.
5. For more details see, Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 334-37; Lahori, Ib, pp. 63-68.

When Jujhar Singh rebelled in 1635 as mentioned, he informed Jagraj who was then at Balaghat with Khan Zaman to leave the place and join him at Orchha alongwith his retainers. Jagraj immediately fled from Balaghat and joined Jujhar Singh at Orchha.[2] He fought against the imperial forces throughout the rebellion period and was killed alongwith his father.[3]

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[2] Qazwini, pt. c, p. 344; Lahori, Ib, p. 95. Cf. Bhimsen (pp. 4-5) who has ignored the real motive behind the flight of Jagraj from Balaghat to Orchha. He simply states that Jagraj being immature gave up the expedition and returned his native place (Orchha) which displeased the emperor Shajahan greatly.

[3] For a detail discussion see the account of Jujhar Singh

Part (B)

(v) RAJA PAHAR SINGH (1642-1655)

Pahar Singh son of Bir Singh Deo came to prominence during the reign of Shahjahan. Unlike his elder brother, Jujhar Singh he served the Mughals loyally throughout his life and played an important role in suppressing the rebellion of his elder brother Jujhar Singh and in compelling Champat Rai to surrender before the imperial authority. For these activities Chhatra Prakash[1] and other local contemporary accounts have painted him as a traitor to the cause of Bundelas. Besides that he also served in the Deccan, Balkh Badakshan and Qandhar campaigns. In reward for his loyalty and meritorious service, the *gaddi* of Orchha was granted to him in 1642[2].

Pahar Singh was the third son of Bir Singh Deo[3]. In 1627, after his father's death he was assigned the *Jagir* of Iraj by Emperor Jahangir[4]. He had two sons named Sujan Singh and Indramani who succeeded him as the rulers of Orchha respectively. But unfortunately we have practically no information in our sources about the early career of Pahar Singh.

After the accession of Shahjahan (February, 1628) when Pahar Singh came to court to pay his respect he was awarded a *mansab* of 2,000/1,200[5] and allowed to go to his *Jagir* of Iraj. In the same year[6] he was again promoted to the rank of 3,000/2,000. It eppeasr that the quick promotions given to Pahar Singh was due to the flight of Jujhar Singh from the court. By these favours Shah Jahan

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1. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 33-34.
2. Lahori, II, pt. I, p. 285; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 27.
3. *Bir Charitra*, p. 610. *Bundelkhand Gazetteer* by A. Captain C. E. Lord, mentions the name of his mother as Amrit who was the daughter of Diwan Shyam Singh Dhander of Shahabad.
4. *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 244; *Masirul-Umara*, p. 425.
5. Lahori, I, p. 121; *Masirul-Umara*, II, pt. I, p. 470.
6. Qazwini, pt (a), p. 130; Lahori, I, p. 205; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 204; *Masirul-Umara*, II, pt. I, p. 470.

wanted to prevent him from joining hands with Jujhar Singh[1].

In the beginning of 1629 the Emperor deputed a grand army to suppress the rebellion of Jujhar Singh. Pahar Singh was ordered to join Adbullah Khan, the *jagirdar* of Kannauj at Iraj. He played an important role in the battles fought between Jagraj and the imperial army in and around the fort of Iraj[2]. On the recommendation of Abdullah Khan he was awarded a robe of honour and some portions of the *jagirs* confiscated from Jujhar Singh for his meritorious sevice.[3]

In the beginning of 1630, Shahjahan summoned Pahar Singh from his *Jagir* of Iraj and despatched him to Khandesh under the command of Shaista Khan, and awarded the title of *Raja*[4] against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi who had revolted and taken shelter at Daultabad[5]. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi could no longer stay at the court of Nizamul Mulk Due to the constant pressure of the imperial army he fled from the Deccan. A fierce battle was fought between the royalists and the rebel near Bir in October, 1630. Pahar Singh showed great valour and in spite of the death of his own brother, Narhar Das[6] and many faithful followers. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was completely defeated and took to flight. Pahar Singh pursued the rebels and Persu Ram one of the

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1. Op. Cit.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Qazwini, pt. b, pp. 169-72; Lahori, I, pp. 241-54; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, pp. 242-51; *Masirul-Umara*, II, pt. I, p. 470. None of these sources specifically mention the name of the tract which was assigned to Pahar Singh.
4. Lahori, I, p. 303; *Masirul-Umara*, II, pt. I, p. 470.
5. Qazwini, pt. b, p. 190; Lahori, I, pp. 393-96: *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 280. The other Bundelas who accompanied Shaista Khan to this compaign were Chandraman, Bhagwan Das and Narhar Das.
6. *Ibid*, p. 201; Ibid, pp. 223-24. Narhar Das held the *jagir* of Dhamuni. All the above Bundelas participated in the battle which was fought near Bir.

officers of Pahar Singh, put Bahadur Khan, the nephew of Khan-i-Jahan to death. Pahar Singh severed his head and presented it to Azam Khan. A number of Afghans were prisoned and slain by the Bundelas during their persuit[1]. After pursuing the rebel for some distance Pahar Singh returned back to the Deccan. For about two years (1631-32) Pahar singh rendered valuable service in the reduction of the forts of Parenda and Dharur. As a reward he was given a robe of honour by Shahjahan[2].

Pahar Singh also played a crucial role throughout the period of the conquest of the fort of Daulatabad (1633-34). From an account of Qazwini and Lahori we get an impression that Pahar Singh because of his daring exploits he had become a terror in the Deccan. We have an idea about his contribution and exertions during the seige operation of the above fort from the following details. While the seige of Daulatabad was in progress Murtaza Khan a Mughal noble who was guarding trench near Aubash-Darra, was surprised by a sudden attack of Randola. Pahar Singh by his bold action defeated the enemy and rescued Murtaza Khan[3].

Pahar Singh was entrusted with very important task during the conquest of Ambarkot. He was instructed by Mahabat Khan to proceed with his whole troopers when the imperial army would charge the mine (on 19th April, 1633) with 70 *maunds* (5,600 Ibs.) of gun powder. Although the officer incharge of the mine committed a blunder mistake

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1. *Ibid*, p. 202; Ibid, pp. 224-25; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, pp. 293; 295-96; *Masirul-Umara*, p. 470.
2. Qazwini, pt. b, pp. 216, 220; Lahori, I, pp. 360, 404-5.
3. *Ibid*, p. 282; Ibid, p. 505.

and fired it before the arrival of Pahar singh[1]. But he entered the fort of Ambarkot and it great difficulty captured it in a hand to hand combat because the mines where exploaded much before his arrival[2].

After the conquest of Ambarkot, Pahar Singh in accordance with the imperial order started commencing the seige operation of Mahakot by digging mines. But before it was completed he was transferred to Berar and Telingana against the Deccanis. When the imperialists reached at Zafarnagar they came to know that the Deccanis had moved towards Burhanpur to plunder large supply of provisions that had been collected there. Leaving Pahar Singh at Zafarnagar Khan Zaman himsef proceeded to Burhanpur to cheek their advance. When the Marathas came to know of the departure of Khan Zaman they attacked Pahar Singh who had a very small army at his disposal. But Pahar Singh once again with his usual boldness of action again defeated the Marathas killing 70 of their best soldiers[3].

After his victory over the at Zafarnagar Pahar Singh returned back to the fort of Daultabad where the seige operation was in progress. A three pronged attack was launched on the fort to surpris the besieged. One of the divisions led by Pahar Singh, defeated Randola and Shahuji at Uparkatka from where they where discharging rockets to disrupt the seige operation. About 250 of their best soldiers were killed and 60 of them were imprisoned;

1. Qazwini, pt. b, p. 282; Lahori, I, p. 509.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 285-88; Ibid, 512-13.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 288-89; Ibid, pp. 517-19; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, pp. 443-51.

besides that a large booty also fell into their hands. Ultimately the fort was conquered on 20th of June, 1633[1].

As mentioned above, during the first seige of the fort of Parenda (1631-32) Pahar Singh had performed meritorious services; he was again appointed for the same job in 1634 under the command of Mahabat Khan. In accordance with the royal order, Pahar Singh fixed his quarter near the fort to guard the entrenchment. Adil Shahi forces made an unsuccessful attack on the Bundelas. In spite of the loss of many of Bundelas in the battle the Marathas were eventually defeated and repulsed[2].

After the death of Mahabat Khan in November, 1634. Pahar Singh was attached to Khan Dauran the *subedar* of Burhanpur. When Jagraj fled from Balaghat in 1635 to join his father, Jujhar singh, who had rebelled Pahar Singh pursued and overtook him at Astha and killed about 250 of Jagraj's retainers but he escaped. Afterwards, he accompanied Khan Dauran and played important role in the battles which took place in course of the conquest of the forts of Orchha, Dhamuni and Chauragarh[3].

After the suppression of the revolt of Jujhar Singh, Pahar Singh was again appointed in 1636 to serve in the Deccan under Khan Zaman[4] because Shahuji refused to hand over Maholi to Adil Shah in accordance with the treaty concluded between him and Adil Shah under whose terms the fort of Maholi was to surrender to the latter.A very adversed situation had developed because the Mughals being a party to this settlment but the seige of Maholi and Pahar Singh was ordered to check that no reinforcement reached the beseiged. The garrison was reduced to such a extremities that Shahuji was forced to surrender the fort

1. Qazwini, pt. b, pp. 294-97; Lahori, I, pp. 520-26; *Amal-i-Salhi*, I, pp. 452-54. All these chronicles provide a detailed account of the events leading to the conquest of Daultabad fort.

2. *Ibid*, pt. c, 319-23; *Ibid*, I, pt. b, pp. 35-39.

3. Op. Cit.

4. Lahori, Ib, pp. 136-37, 184; The other important nobles who accompanied Khan Zaman to this compaign against Shahuji were Chandraman Bundela, Bhagwan Das Bundela Rao Satrasal, Pirthiraj Rathor with an army of 20,000 cavalary.

of Maholi to Adil Shah. Thereafter Junnar, Trimbak, Tringalwari, Harish, Javdhan and Harsara alongwith Udgir and Usa were also captured[1].

The imperial army returned to Dualtabad in 1637 after their success against Shahuji. In the same year Prince Aurangzeb succeeded Khan Zaman as the viceroy of the Deccan. Pahar Singh served under the Prince also for about five years and accompanied him in almost every important campaigns. He was recalled from the Deccan on 4th June 1642 to lead a campaign against Champat Rai in Bundelkhand[2].

It is important to discuss briefly the political history of Orchha from the time of the suppression of the revolt of Jujhar Singh in 1635. As discussed in the preceding chapter that in 1635 *gaddi* of Orchha was granted to Debi Singh as a reward for his services against Jujhar Singh[3]. But the decision of Shahjahan was greatly resented by Champat Rai on the pretext that the newly appointed 'Raja' didn't belong to the family of Bir Singh Deo[4] and he openly rebelled. Debi Singh failed to restore peace in Bundelkhand and as a consequence he was deposed in 1637 after a period of two years. From 1637 to 1642 (June) no Bundela ruler was placed on the throne of Orchha. During this period it remained attached to the *suba* of Gwalior and was administrated by various imperial officers. Besides that Shahjahan sent successive expeditions against Champat Rai to subdue him completely. In spite of their best efforts the imperialists failed to suppress him completely[5].

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1. Qazwini, pt. c, pp. 363-66; Lahori, Ib, 200-1; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 471.
2. *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 471. No contemporary account mention the service of Pahar Singh under Prince Aurangzeb in the Deccan.
3. See the preceding chapter.
4. See the account of Debi Singh.
5. For more details see the account of Champat Rai.

It appears that after watching the above developments carefully emperor Shahjahan found it difficult, if not impossible to subdue Champat and bring him to imperial oath only by using force, he finally decided it more convenient to restore the *gaddi* of Orchha to Pahar Singh, son of Bir Singh Deo, who had throughout been loyal also to the imperial authority. Although the kingdom of Orchha was greatly diminished in extent upto this time. Emperor Shahjahan seems to be of the view that by granting the throne of Orchha to Pahar Singh he would be in a position to creat a discord among the Bundelas by dividing their allegience between him and Champat Rai. Another possible consideration which promoted this fresh decision to appoint Pahar Singh against Champat Rai would have been that the former had local support and an intimate knowledge of the Bundela territory to find Champat Rai on equal terms.

Keeping in mind the above contradictions and considerations Shahjahan restored the *gaddi* of Orchha to Pahar Singh. He was also promoted to the *mansab* of 3,000/3,000 (1,000 *du aspa sih aspa*) and the Emperor appointed him against Champat Rai (June, 1642). Champat Rai who was fighting for the cause of Bir Singh Deo's family , however, realised it impolitic and unworthy of himself to oppose Pahar Singh when he reached at Islamabad (Jatara). Although official Chronicle of Shahjahan, Lahori gives a different versions in this regard. He states that Champat Rai surrended before Pahar Singh only due to the weak position[1]. But this assumption does not seem very

1. Lahori, II, pt. I, p. 304.

convincing in the light of the details discussed so far. The best explanation may be that Champat Rai seathed his sword before Pahar Singh without fighting and any condition primarily because of the fact that with the restoration of the *gaddi* to the son of Bir Singh Deo, Champat's cause for revolt was over[1] . Therefore, Champat Rai submitted himsef before Pahar Singh and in accordance with the Emperor Shahjahan's instructions the latter admitted him to his service[2] . Champat Rai and Pahar Singh together proceeded to Orchha from Jatara where champat Rai stayed for some time but deserted him soon[3] .

The position of Champat Rai during the period extending from 1635 to 1642, *i.e.*, from the death of Jujhar Singh till the appointment of Pahar singh as the ruler of Orchha becomes very clear out of the scattered details available in *Chhatra Prakash*. Champat Rai established his control practically and himself became the master of all adjoining areas of Orchha. He also extended his influence completely and as a result gained fame and popularity among the Bundela masses during the period under discussion. The reason which greatly contributed in strengthening his position was the absence of a Bundela ruler at Orchha for a long span of time. Besides that, Champat Rai took the cause of Jujhar Singh and his family members who were assassinated and executed with a serious view of Emperor Shahjahan. Such a harsh policy of the Emperor must have

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 26, The basis of the revolt of Champat Rai was that he wanted the *gaddi* of Orchha be restored to member of Bir Singh Deo's family. He resented the appointment of Debi Singh because he didn't belong to the family of Bir Singh Deo and also on account of his suppressive role against Jujhar Singh in 1635.

2 . Lahori, II, pt. I, p. 304.

3 . *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 206.

played an important role in arousing an anti-Mughal propaganda in the Bundelkhand region of which Champat Rai took full advantage and used it against the Mughal authority during this period. We see that there were a number of factors leading to the rise of Champat Rai. If Chhatra Prakash is believed, Pahar Singh became jealous of the power, position and popularity of Champat Rai to whom he considered a means of threat to his position. He decided to eliminate Champat Rai from the scenes on an appropriate occasion. A welcome feast was arranged by Pahar Singh to execte the plan of getting rid of his rival by poisoning him. But the brother of Champat Rai named Bhim changed the meal served to the former with poison and sacrificed his life for his brother. The affairs between Pahar Singh and Champat Rai did not proceed smoothly following this in incident. As a result, the latter could serve the former nolonger and in a distressed position left Orchha and returned his native *jagir* of Mahewa. As no hope of favour was there from the *raja* of Orchha he approached the Mughal court on the advice of his mother and was enlisted in the imperial service under Prince Dara on the recomendation of Emperor Shahjahan[1].

In April, 1644, Pahar Singh was appointed by Shahjahan to support Khan Dauran, the governor of Malwa, who was besieging the fort of Ginnur in the Gondwana region with a limited troops at his disposal. Maru Gond after the death of his master Sangram, the Gond chief, usurped the power

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1. For more details of the incident, see, *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 28-30. Although *Masirul-Umara* (II, pt. II, p. 720) and *Umara-i-Hunud* (of Munshi Mohammad Saeed Ahmed, Kanpur, Pub. A. O. College, Aligarh, p. 275) don't mention the incident but state that Champat Rai joined the service under Prince Dara in a distressed position which in a way corroborates the above details of *Chhatra Prakash*.

and arrested Bhupat, the son of Sangram. Besides that he stopped the payment of revenue and also instigated the peasantry to defy. The arrival of Pahar Singh with a large Bundela army, the old enemy of the Gonds greatly strengthened the position of Khan Dauran. The combined attack of the imperial forces forced Sangram to surrender the fort to the royalists and sue for peace. Pahar Singh returned back to Orchha after the conquest of the fort[2].

At the time of his deputation to the campaign of Badakshan in 1645 under the command of Ali Mardan Khan (*Amirul-Umara*) Pahar singh presented a large tribute to the emperor Shahjahan at Lahore. The expedition proved successful although the royalist faced a lot of difficulties. Lahori has vividly praised Pahar Singh for his extraordinary courage and true generalship he exhibited in course of a number of battles against the enemy[3]. As a reward for his service he was promoted to the rank of 4,000/3,000[4].

Taking into account the meritorious service of Pahar Singh rendered in the Badakshan in 1645-46 he was again sent to the same place under Prince Murad in the following year. He defeated the Uzbeks and Almans in a number of battles while guarding the trenches of the forts of Kahmard and Ghori. The campaign however failed and orders of his recall were issued. But Pahar Singh was ordered to

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2. Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 371-72.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 423-25. The other nobles and *mansabdars* who accompanied Ali Mardan Khan and played important role during the Badakshan compaign were Bahadur Khan, Najabat Khan, Raja Rai Singh, Madho Singh, Mirza Khan and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

4. *Ibid*, p. 479; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 471.

stay there till the arrival of Prince Aurangzeb[1] who succeeded Prince Murad as the commander of the campaign. After his arrival in 1647 the seige of the fort of Ghori was again started afresh. Pahar Singh and his sons were twice appointed for the same service of guarding the trenches during the seige operation of the fort. Due to many obvious reasons the campaign was recalled in 1648[2].

After the conquest of Qandhar by the Persians on 25 March, 1649, a grand Mughal army under Prince Aurangzeb was sent to recover it. Pahar Singh who was at Orchha was also ordered to join the Prince. The author of *Badshahnama*, Waris and other contemporary and near contemporary chronicles have praised Pahar Singh for his commandable service although the campaigan failed. After the campaign was recalled Pahar Singh was allowed to return back to his *watan*[3].

After his return to Orchha in 1651 Chauragarh was also assigned to Pahar Singh because Sardar Khan, the governor of Malwa failed to control the disturbances created by Hirde Ramthe *zamindar* of the area. At the same time Pahar Singh was promoted to the rank of 4,000/4,000 (2,000 *du aspa sih aspa*)[4]. When Pahar Singh reached Chauragarh the *zamindar* not only refused to pay his submission but fled and took shelter with Anup Singh, the *zamindar* of Bandhu. Hotly persued by Pahar Singh, Anup Singh fled from Rewa

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1. Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 485, 487, 523-25; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 471.
2. For more details related to compaign of Balkh and Badakshan, see Lahori, pp. 554-81.
3. Waris 20, 23, 27-342; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, I, 684-86. *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 472. Also see, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, Chapters, VII-VIII.
4. Waris, Muhammad, *Badshahnama* (continuation of Abd-al-Hamid Lahori), I. O. L., Ms. Kthe, 329, pt. b, p. 98. We have already discussed in the account of Jujhar Singh that in 1629 Chauragarh was restored by Emperor Shahjahan to Prem Narain, father of Hirde Ram.

and later on surrendered to Sayyid Mahmud, deputy governor of Allahabad while Hirde Ram fled in the hilly region of Nathur Nather or Teonther. Later Pahar Singh attacked Rewa, the capital of the Baghelas and collected huge booty[1].

In the second[2] and third Qandhar campaigns Pahar Singh accompanied Prince Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh in the years 1653 and 1654. He was appointed to hold the charge of the imperial batteries, however the campaign failed and the imperialists were subsequently recalled[3].

The author of *Chhatra Prakash* tells us that at the time of third expedition to Qandhar in 1653 Champat Rai was granted by the emperor Shahjahan the *pargana* of Konch,[4] a very fertile tract of land yielding 3 lakhs of rupees per annum. Pahar Singh was greatly annoyed at the decision of the Emperor and to counter the decision he presented a gift of nine lakhs of rupees to Prince Dara and succeeded in getting the same *jagir* for himself[5].

Pahar Singh was permitted to go to his *watan* in 1654 after his return from Qandhar. He died a natural death in 1655 and was succeeded by his eldest son named Sujan Singh[6].

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1. *Ibid*, pp. 98-100; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 471.
2. *Ibid*, pt. c. 60a-65b; Aurangzeb, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, MS. Br. M. Or. 177, pp. 12ab, 20b.
3. *Ibid*, *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 31, *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 472.
4. The region of Konch was situated in the district of Jalaun at N. 25∞-59' and E. 79∞-10', on the bans of river Betwa and Pahuj. Due to alluvial soil the region was very fertile and called the 'garden of Bundelkhand'. See, *District Gazetteer of Jalaun*, pp. 171-80.
5. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 31. The author wrongly mentions that the fort of Qandhar was occupied by the royalists and Champat Rai played a crucial role in its conquest.
6. *Waris*, 199 (a); *Chhatra Prakaesh* p.34, *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 472. The author of the latter source mentions that outside the boundaries of Aurangabad a place was named as Pahar Singh pura after the death of Pahar Singh.

(vi) RAJA SUJAN SINGH (1655-68)

Sujan Singh, the adopted son[1] of Raja Pahar Singh succeeded him as the ruler of Orchha in 1655[2]. During his father's life time he served in varied capacities[3] After his succession Sujan Singh was given the title of *Raja* and promoted to the rank of 2,000/2,000 (*du aspa sih aspa*)[4].

Soon after his accession Sujan Singh was ordered to accompany Qasim Khan, the head of artillery for chastising the rebel *zamindar* of Srinagar (Garhwal). The campaign proved a big success; the *zamindar* surrendered before the imperial army and accepted the overlordship of the Mughal Emperor. Sujan Singh was awarded a robe of honour for his valuable service in this campaign[5].

On his return from Garhwal expedition Sujan Singh was directed to join Prince Aurangzeb who at that time was the viceroy of the Deccan (1657). But shortly afterwards he was recalled from there to the imperial court on account of the outbreak of the war of succession of 1657-59. He presented himself before emperor Shahjahan at Agra alongwith his entire Bundela contingent[6].

From *Alamgir Nama* it appears that as soon as Sujan Singh reached Agra, the Emperor was informed that Prince Aurangzeb was marching towards Agra with the sole objective of occupying the throne. Sujan Singh was, therefore, immediately ordered to join the forces led by

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1. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 50.
2. *Masir-i-Alamgiri* of Mohammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, ed. Agha Ahmed Ali, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Pub. 1871, Vol. II, pp. 256-60; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 34; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 882.
3. Ibid, p. 260; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 882, Both chronicle fail to provide specific position enjoyed by Sujan Sing during his father's life time.
4. Waris, p. 199a; *Amal-i-Salih*, III, p. 107.
5. *Ibid*, p. 261 (b); Ibid, p. 197.
6. *Alamgirnama* of Muhammad Kazi, ed. Khadim Husain an Abdul Hai, Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1865-73, I, pp. 65, 70-71; *Dilkusha*, p. 17a. For details see, *History of Aurangzeb*, II, pp. 1-30.

Maharaja Jaswant Singh. He was placed under the command of Qasim Khan with specific instructions to prevent Prince Murad as far as possible from joining Aurangzeb[1]. In the battle fought at Dharmat in March, 1658 Sujan Singh commanded the rear-guard of the imperial army[2]. Although the Rajputs fought with their usual bravery but were badly defeated by the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Murad[3]. Snjan Singh fled from the battlefield, and in place of going back to Agra, he returned to Orchha[4].

The victory of Prince Aurangzeb at Samugarh greaty strengthened his position; his coronation also took place on 21st July, 1658. Although some opposition was still going on but Aurangzeb's position was more or less secure. He now started making efforts to bring to his side the Mughal ruling class specially those nobles who had deserted imperial army after the battle of Dharmat. Sujan Singh who remained at Orchha was watching the developments, after the defeat of Dara at Samugarh carefully also decided to approach Aurangzeb soon after his first coronation. Sujan Singh presented himself at the court and offered his submission. Aurangzeb reinstated him to the throne of Orchha. He was also awarded a robe of honour[5]. When the Emperor left the capital to deal with Prnce Shah Shuja, Sujan Singh also accompanied him. He was placed on the right wing of imperial forces. For his meritorious service in the battle of Khajwah[6] (5th

1. *Alamgirnama*, I, pp. 70-1.

2. *Gwaliornama* of Hiraman bin Girhavdas Munsi, Br. Lib. p52/6493; Add. 16709; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 882.

3. *Masiri-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 3-4. The author of *Umara-i-Hunud*, without referring to the defeat of imperial army at Dharmat states that Raja Jaswant and Sujan Singh left the field while they experienced their position weak in course of the fighting with the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Murad.

4. *Alamgirnama*, I, p. 171.

5. *Alamgirnama*, I, p. 287.

6. Khajwa (Khajuha) in Fatehpur district, U. P., situated in 26∞-3N and 80∞-3'E on the old Mughal road from Agra to Allahabad, 21 miles west of Fatehpur town. *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, pp. 219-20.

Januray, 1659) Sujan Singh was promoted to the rank of 3,500/3,000[1] . After the battle he alongwith certain other Bundela chiefs[2] was ordered to join the army of Prince Sultan Muhammad, the eldest son of Aurangzeb who was deputed to pursue Shah Shuja towards Bengal[3] .

Sujan Singh and his Bundela *sardars* showed rare valour in a number of battles fought with the army of Shuja at Akbarnagar, Chandpur (a villege near the town of Akbarnagar) and Sitalghat situated on the bank of river Mahanadi in the *pargana* of Malda in Bengal[4] . At Sitalghat Sujan Singh and Diler Khan who had only 1,000 cavalary and 500 infantry at their disposal were suddenly attacked by a much larger army of Shuja. A fierce battle was fought and in spite of being much inferior in number the enemy was completely defeated and compelled to leave Bengal[5] .

Although emperor Aurangzeb had succeeded in defeating almost all his opponents but still dissension were there and he had not been able to fully consolidate his position. Being concious of this, Aurangzeb gave rapid promotion to all such nobles who had joined him after Samugarh. Sujan Singh and a number of Bundela *sardars* were among the first nobles who joined him after his first coronation. Sujan Sigh who accompanied the Emperor in almost all his compaigns was raised to the rank of

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1 · *Alamgirnama*, I, p. 341.

2 · The other Bendula nobles who accompanied Prince Muhammad against Shuja were Debi Singh, Subhkaran and Mitr Sen.

3 · *Alamgirnama*, I, pp. 347-49; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, of Aqil Khan Razi, ed. Zafar Husain, Delhi, 1976, pp. 123-30; Cf. *Dikkusha*, p. 17a. The author Bhimsen wrongly states that Sujan Singh deserted from the battle of Khajwah. It appears he confuses his desertion in the battle of Dharmat to Khajwah.

4 · *Alamgirnama*, I, pp. 347-49.

5 · For more details about the compaign against Shuja see, *Alamgirnama*, I, p. 502, 522, 533, 538 and 546.

3,500/3,500 (*du aspa sih aspa*) in 1660 after his return from Bengal[1] .

The absence of Sujan Singh from Orchha due to his pre-occupation with the imperial expedition against Shuja and the prevailing political chaos owing to the war of succession provided Champat Rai a favourabe opportunity to raise the banner of revolt in Bundelkhand once again in 1659. After his return to court alongwith Prince Muhammad from Bengal Sujan Singh was shortly despatched to deal with the rebel. Although he failed to arrest him as instructed by the Emperor but credited himself in suppressing the rebel completely and woundering him seriously. Champat Rai was compelled to take refuge in Sahra, the place belonging to the Dhandera chief, Indraman. To please the Emperor the Dhandera Indraman killed Champat Rai in November, 1661[2] .

The assassination of Champat Rai made Sujan Singh free from the trouble in his territory until his death in 1668. He was recalled from his *watan* in 1662 to assist Prince Muazzam Khan against Bhim Narain, the ruler of Kuch Bihar in Assam. Sujan Singh and the other imperial nobles were not in a position to launch their offensive effectively due to small number of troops that they had at their disposal. However after the arrival of Mir Jumla with a large army Sujan Singh succeeded in surpassing the rebels. The author of *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* writes that Sujan singh completely defeated the *quiledar* and *zamindar* of Charang, a tributory of Bhim Narain in a open battle. A large booty fell into his hands and a number of Assamese were taken as prisoners[3]. In spite of strong resistance offered by the

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1 . *Ibid*, 586; Cf. *Nainsi-ri-Khyat*, (I, p. 130) mentions that Sujan Singh held a *mansab* of 3,000.

2 . *Alamgirnama*, II, pp. 632-33, A detailed account of Champat's flight and his shelter in the territory of Dhanderas and afterwards his assassination by them is given in *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 50-60.

3. *Lubab*, II, pp. 165-66. It also adds that the ruler of Kuch Bihar had great confidence and relied more on the bravery and power of the above said *quiledar* and *zamindar* and that his defeat greatly affected the position of Bhim Narain.

Assamese Sujan Singh with other imperial officers played an important role in establishing Mughal sovereignty over Kuch Bihar, eastern and middle territory of Assam and Garhgaon[1] .

In 1665 after his return from Assam, Sujan Singh was ordered to accompany Raja Jai Singh against Shivaji who had rebelled and conquered large areas of Mughal territories[2] . According to the plan chalked out in regard to this expedition both the Rajput Rajas were to reach the fort of Purandhar through Rajgarh. Indramani and Mitra Sen, brther of Sujan Singh alongwith other officers were directed to proceed Purandhar via Rairi. The imperial forces launched a joint attack and forced Shivaji to surrender a number of forts. Finally the hostilities came to an end with the Treaty of Purandhar which was signed in September 1665[3] .

Two months after the Treaty of Purandhar Raja Jai Singh on the advice of Shivaji started a forward policy in the Deccan (Nov., 1665). Sujan Singh[4] was placed under the command of Diler Khan who was leading the vanguard of the imperial army. During this expedition Sujan Singh had 2,000 cavalary under him who were attached to the royal *topkhana*[5] . Sujan Singh repulsed the enemy in several engagements and distinguished himself against the Deccanis. However, the campaign failed due to the flight of Shivaji from Agra[6] .

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1 . *Alamgirnama*, II, p. 790. See *Fathijah-i-Ibratiyah* of Shahabuddin Talish (also translated in Urdu by Mir Bahadur) for Assam expedition during Aurangzeb.

2 . Ibid, pp. 868-70; *Lubab*, II, pp. 177-78.

3 . *Alamgirnama*, II, pp. 930-5.

4 . The other Bundela nobles who accompanied Raja Jai Singh in his Deccan compaign were Subhkaran and Indramani.

5 . *Ibid*, pp. 989; *Dilkusha*, pp. 28a-29a.

6 . *Ibid*, pp. 988, 1015; Ibid, p. 29a.

According to *Chhatra Prakash* during the stay of Sujan Singh in the Deccan a very important development took place. Chhatrasal Bundela, the chief of Mahewa and son of Champat Rai paid a secret visit to Sujan Singh sometimes in 1667-68 and requested him to join in his compaign against the Mughals. *Chhatra Prakash* adds that Sujan Singh was sympathetic to Chhatrasal but considering the might of the Mughal Emperor and their own weak position politly refused to enter in any such adventure[1] .

Because of above reverses in the Deccan Aurangzeb divided the Mughal army in to two parts, giving one part of it to the command of Raja Jai Singh to lead the compaign against Marathas while the other part of the army was given to the command of Diler Khan who was ordered to suppress Manjhi Mallar, the *zamindar* of Chanda near Berar. Sujan Singh accompanied Diler Khan in this compaign. Being pressed hard by the imperial army the rebel *zamindar* sued for peace which was granted[2] .

Sometimes after this incident Sujan Singh died in 1668 in the Deccan leaving no heir behind him[3] .

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1 · *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 92-96; D. B. Prasanis, *Marathyache Prakram, Bundelkhand Prakaram*, pp. 31-33; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p, 883; B. D. Gupta, *Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela*, p. 36; Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 180.

2 · *Alamgirnama*, II, pp. 1022-23; *Lubab*, II, p. 205. The other important nobles placed under the command of Diler Khan were Randola Khan, Rao Bhao Singh Hada, Iraj Khan, *faujdar* of Ilachpur and Fateh Khan, *faujdar*, of Poona.

3 · *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883; Cf. *Dilkusha*, p. 60a and *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 140-43. Bhim Sen mention the death of Sujan Singh in 1673 and Lal Kavi narrates his death while writing the details which took place around 1682-83. He further adds that the last hope to unite the Bundelas by Chhatrasal to liberate Bundelkhand from the imperial control came to an end with the death of Sujan Singh.

(vii) RAJA INDRAMANI (1668-1677)

Indramani[1] son of Pahar Singh succeeded to throne of Orchha on the death of his elder brother Sujan Singh in 1668[2]. We get first reference of Indramani in 1655 when he was awarded a *mansab* of 500/400 by the Emperor at the death of his father.[3] In the following year (1556) he was ordered to accompany his elder brother, Sujan Sing against the *zamindar* of Srinagar (Garhwal)[4]. In 1657 he was sent to the Deccan to serve under Prince Aurangzeb[5] .

During the war of succession, Indramani was recalled from the Deccan to the imperial court and participated in the battle of Dharmat[6]. After the defeat of the imperial army in the battle he also went to Orchha alongwith his elder brother. But like many other Bundela chiefs he also joined Aurangzeb after the defeat of Dara at Samugarh[7].

A very important and daring task of escorting Aurangzeb was entrusted to Indramani when the Emperor proceeded from the court to Khajwah against Prince Shuja. The appointment of Indramani to such a trustworthy position clearly suggests that the Bundelas established a strong confidence in the Emperor shortly after their submission to him. He showed exceptional feats of bravery for which he was rewarded[8] and promoted to the rank of 1,000/600[9].

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1 . Indramani is variably known as Indraman, Indramani, Indramin and Indra Singh in different Persian and local sources.

2 . *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 142; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 383.

3 . Waris, p. 199a; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 472.

4 . *Ibid*, p. 269a.

5 . *Amal-i-Salih* III, p. 482.

6 . *Alamgirnama*, I, p. 65; *Dilkusha*, p. 17a.

7 . *Ibid*, p. 247.

8 . *Alamgirnama*, I, pp. 24-49; *Dilkusha*, p. 17a.

9 . *Ibid*, p. 290.

Shortly after the battle of Khajwah emperor Aurangzeb took a serious note of the rebellious activities of Champat Rai[1] who had occupied Iraj and Bhander in Bundelkhand after the battle of Samugarh[2]. He appointed Indramani and Rao Subhkaran Bundela, the *raja* of Datiya to suppress the rebellion[3]. Champat Rai was defeated and seriously wounded in the battle however he managed to escape to his brother Sujan Rai at Vedpur[4]. After his return from Bundelkhand, Indramani was promoted to a very high *mansab* of 4,000/3,000 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)[5]. The increase of 3,000/2,400 should not be treated only as a reward for his service against Champat Rai, but it reflected Aurangzeb's favourale attitude towards Bundelas for their crucial role during the war of succession.

In 1660 Indramani was ordered to assist Prince Muazzam in Bengal against his uncle, Prince Shuja. He performed outstanding feats of bravery specially at Akbarnagar, Patna, Munger and Bhagalpur in *suba* Bihar against his adversaries[6].

The history of Indramani for a period of three years (1661-63) is obscure. During this period either he served the imperia army in Bengal or stayed at Orchha. He comes to our notice in 1664 when he was dispatched under Raja Jai Singh against Shivaji. Indramani succeeded in capturing the fort of Rairi in 1665 with the active help of his Bundela troops[7].

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1. *Alamgir Nama* p. 290
2. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 44.
3. *Alamgirnama*, I, pp. 301-2; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883; Cf. *Chhatra Prakash*, (pp. 45-49) gives a detailed account of the battle fought between Rao Subhkaran and Champat Rai but does not mention the name of Indramani.
4. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 45-50. No other source provide details of the battle.
5. *Alamgirnama*, I, pp. 339, 478.
6. *Alamgirnama*, I, pp. 512-13, 517-18, 533.
7. *Ibid*, II, pp. 820-91, 903.

For a long period of about twelve years (1665-77) Indramani served in the Deccan under Raja Jai Singh, Bahadur Khan and Diler Khan. While serving under Raja Jai Singh Indramani had 6,000 cavalary at his disposal[1]. The author of *Masirul-Umara* writes that Indramani performed good services in the Deccan against the Bijapuris and Qutb Shahis. As a reward for this achievement he was given the title of *Raja* after the death of his elder brother Sujan Singh in 1668. The *Gaddi* of Orccha was also granted[2].

Chhatra Prakash is the only source which helps in reconstructing the history of Indramani from 1669 to 1672. Lal Kavi informs us that during this period he remained busy in confronting Chhatrasal who was ravaging the imperial territories in Bundelkhand situated east of the river Dhasan. Indramani however failed to achieve much success in spite of his best efforts[3].

As the situation in the Deccan was becoming more seriaus Indramani was recalled from Orchha and sent to the Deccan to serve under Khan Jahan Bahadur and was appointed the *thanedar* of Gulshanbad[4] and Nasik[5] in 1673. He played an important role in the seige of the fort of Naldurg[6].

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1 . *Ibid*, pp. 989, 998.

2 . *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883.

3 . *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 143-44. The author simply states the failure of Indramani against Chhatrasal. We have mentioned the period of his presence on the basis of the details available in *Masirul-Umara* and *Dilkusha*. As stated above we notice that in 1668 Indramani was granted the *tika* in the Deccan. After this event we again come to know from *Dilkusha* his presence in the Deccan in 1673. It shows that during these period (1669-1672) Indramani remained pre-occupied against Chhatrasal in Bundelkhand.

4 . *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883.

5 . *Dilkusha*, p. 65a.

6 . *Ibid*, pp. 72b, 75a. Bahadur Khan failed to capture the fort of Naldurg. It was occupied on 11th May, 1677 under the governship of Diler Khan.

Diler Khan succeeded Bahadur Khan as the *subedar* of the Deccan in 1676 because latter's achievements and successes failed to satisfy the Emperor[1]. Indramani joined the new viceroy at Gulbarga and alongwith the imperial army left the place for the conquest of Malkhed. In course of its occupation the imperialists experienced a bitter apposition and suffered immensely at the hands of the Deccanis (Hyderabadis). In spite of their usual bravery and courage a good number of Bundelas serving under Indramani were killed in different battles. There was so severe scarcity of the provision in the Mughal camp that several of Bundealas died of starvation. At this juncture Indramani and his followers suggested Diler Khan to raise the seige and return back to Gulbarga. The viceroy accepted his proposal and issued order for the retreat of the army. Lastly, understanding was reached between Sidi Masud, the Birjapuri minister who had been won over by DilerKhan and Abdul Karim Bahlol in 1677[3].

Shortly after his return from Malkhed to Gulgarba, Indramani breathed his last on Thursday, the 15th August[2], 1677 after a rule of nine years and a service to the Mughals of twenty two years (1655-1677). He was succeeded by Jaswant Singh[4].

(viii) RAJA JASWANT SINGH (1677-1687)

Jaswant Singh who had been managing the administration of Orchha and other *jagirs* on behalf of his father

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1. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 99. Due to the failure of Bahadur Khan in the Deccan he was deprived of his rank and title on 23rd May, 1678 (Ibid. p. 168).

3. *Dilkusha*, pp. 76b-77ab. Cf. *Bustain*, pp. 511-12, the above peace was established on the intervention of Abdul Hasan Qutb Shah.

2. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 161.

4. *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883.

Indramani ascended to the *gaddi* of Orchha with the hereditary title of *Raja*[1] and a *mansab* of 1,500/1,000 (*du aspa sih aspa*) after the death of the latter in 1677. According to the *farman* of emperor Aurangzeb he with a large Bundela army left his *watan* and proceeded to the Deccan to serve the Mughal authority.[2]

The revolt of Chhatrasal was gradually gaining its strength and popularity in Bundelkhand; very shortly after his arrival at Gulbarga Jaswant Singh was ordered on 18 September, 1678 to proceed to Orchha for suppressing the rebellion of Chhatrasal and his elder brother Angad of Deogarh, the sons of Champat Rai.[3] Because they were frequently harassing the Mughal officers posted at Baroni, Konch, Jhagar, Dhamuni, Iraj, Narwar and Rangir in Bundelkhand and Sahara, Bhelra and Sironj in Malwa.[4] Jaswant Singh reached Bundelkhand at the head of a large army and started making preparation for a conserted action against the rebels. Chhatrasal and his brother Angad realised that they would not be able to succeed against Jaswant Singh therefore they appealed for a peaceful settlement. Jaswant Singh not only agreed to his proposal but also helped him to get imperial service.[5]

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1. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 161; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883, Cf. *Dilkusha*, p. 65a. Previously he held a *mansab* of 1000.
2. *Selected Documents of Ahmadabad*, pp. 150-5; Mamuri, 165 (a); *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883; Also see, M. Athar Ali, *Nobility under Aurangzeb*, p. 250.
3. *Masir-i-Alamagiri*, p. 169; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 109; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883; *Umara-i-Hundu*, pp. 275, 374. According to *Jhansi Gazetteer*, (pp. 248-50) Deogarh which Agad Rai held in *Jagir* was situated on the bank of river Betwa in the district of Jhansi in 24°-33N'-78°-15' E.
4. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 109, 118, 120. Chhatrasal's attack to the imperial territories were mainly confined to the outer posts. He opted mainly the guerrilla tactics and never seem to have fought a pitched battle with the royalists at least during these periods.
5. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 108-20; *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 883; *Umara-i-Hunud*, pp. 275-76.

It should, here, be pointed out that the submission of Chhatrasal to Jaswant Singh was not out of respect to the ruler of Orchha or for the sake or interest of the Bundela unity as mentioned at frequent intervals in *Chhatra Praksh*[1] but on account of his inabiity to continue the struggle any longer.

Soon after the end of crisis in Bundelkhand Chhatrasal joined the imperial service with Jaswant Singh and sent to the Deccan to assist Diler Khan against the Marathas and Bijapuris in October, 1678[2]. The imperial army occupied a number of forts of Shivaji . Jaswant Singh was specially deputed to beseige the fort of Bhupalgarh which he occupied on 2nd April, 1679[3]. Shortly after this conquest Diler Khan proceeded to the court placing the imperial army under the command of Jaswant Singh at Bahadurgarh[4].

Aurangzeb himself reached Deccan on 22nd March, 1682 and afterwards ordered Prince Muazzam to invade Qutb Shahi territories. Jaswant Singh was deputed to capture Malkher. A fierce battle took place at Sedan[5] on his way to Malkher in which Jaswant Singh was seriously injured. It is to his great credit that in spite of being seriously wounded he continued to fight and repulsed the enemy forces led by Muhammad Ibrahim[6].

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1. *Chhatra Prakash*,

2. *Dilkusha*, pp. 80a-81a.

3. *Bustain-us-Salatin* of Fakir Muhammad Zuberi (Marathi translation by Parasani, ed. V. S. Bendrey, *Bijagpuri Adil Shahi*) Bombay, 1968, pp. 533-34.

4. *Dilkusha*, p. 84a.

5. Sedan or Seram a *taluka*, 8 miles east of Malkher or Manyakhet in Gulbarga district now in Mysore (A. P.) State.

6. *Dilkusha*, p. 95ab; *Hadiqat-ul-Alam*, published in *Qutbshahi of Golkunda in the Seventeenth Century*, (Ed. V. S. Bendrey)

On 4th April, 1686 Jaswant Singh was dispatched against Bijapur with Himmat Khan, son of Khan Jahan Kokaltash[1]. But shortly afterwards he was recalled and deputed to join the imperial army which had been sent to capture Malkher. The fort was occupied in the same year[2] and a large number of Qutbshahi nobles joined Mughal service. Abdullah Qutb Shah started feeling insecure in Hyderabad, fled and shut himself at Golkunda fort[3].

In 1687 Jaswant Singh was killed during the seige operation of the fort of Adoni[4]. His minor son Bhagwant Singh succeeded him as the ruler of Orchha[5].

(ix) RAJA BHAGWANT SINGH (1687-1688)

Bhagwant Singh[6] ascended to the throne of Orchha at the age of five and was given title of *Raja* and a *mansab* of 1,000/1,000 by emperor Aurangzeb[7]. As the *Raja* was a minor and unable to run the administration of Orchha; his grand mother Rani Amar Kunwari carried out the administration. But within a year he died in 1688[8] and he was succeeded by Udwat Singh[9].

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1. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 273; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 374.
2. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 275-77.
3. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 275-77.
4. Adoni, a town in Bellary district, Madras situated in 15°-38'N and 77°-17'E with a strong fort on the top of a precipitous cluster of rockey hills. *Imperial Gazetteer*, V. pp. 24-25.
5. *Dilkusha*, p. 96a.
6. Bhagwant Singh was born at Orchha in 1682. Bhim Sen mentions that at the time of his birth, his father Jaswant Singh was at Bahadurgarh in the Deccan. When he came to know of the heart touching news of the birth of his son he celebrated the occasion on a grand scale. A number of important nobles likve Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, Ikhlas Khan, Rashid Khan and others participated in the function. The child was named as Bhagat (Bhagwant Singh) by emperor Aurangzeb. Jaswant Singh presented suitable *peshkash* to the Emperor *Dilkusha*, p. 92a.
7. *Dilkusha*, p, 96a; *Masirul-Umara*, p. 883.
8. *Ibid*.
9. *Ibid*, p. 98a.

(x) RAJA UDWAT SINGH (1688-1707)

In the absence of any male heir in the families of either Sujan Singh or Indramin, Udwat Singh, son of Pratap Singh[1] was adopted by Rani Amar Kunwari, the grand mother of deceased Raja Bhagwant Singh. She petitioned for the *tika* of Udwat singh which was granted by emperor Aurangzeb[2]. After his accession to the throne of Orchha, he, in accordance with the imperial *farman*, visited the royal court[3], where he received the robe of honour, title of *Raja*[4] and a *mansab* of 1,500/1,500 in 1689[5].

In between June, 1690 and August, 1692, Udwat Singh served in the Deccan under the command of Firoz Jung and on account of his meritorious services he acquired good fame. Due to growing unrest in Bundelkhand he was appoited as the *faujdar* of Iraj[6] in September, 1692 with an increase of 500 *zat*, making his *mansab* to 2,000/1500[7].

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1. Pratap Singh was one of the descendents of Raja Madhukar Shah. He possessed the *jagirdari* of a village near Orchha. According to Bhim Sen, due to limited economic source his financial condition was not well. It highlights that only the successors of Ram Shah and Bir Singh Deo enjoyed a privileged position under the Mughals.
2. *Dilkusha*, p. 98ab; *Masirul-Umara*, II. p. 883.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 202.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 350-51; *Tazkirat-al-Umara*, p. 131a. Altough these sources don't mention the award of a *mansab* of 1,500/1,500 to Udwat Singh in 1689 but from their proceeding details we come to know that his rank reached to 2,000/1,500 in 1692 with the award of 500 *zat*. It is most probable that Udwat was given a *mansab* of 1,500/1,500 when he first visited the Emperor and was awarded the title of Raja and given customary robes of honour.
6. Op. Cit. The place was annexed to the Mughal domain by Emperor Shahjahan in 1635 after the second rebellion of Jujhar Singh.
7. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 350-1; *Tazkirat-al-Umara*, p. 131a.

Udwat Singh served as the *faujdar* of Iraj and administered its affairs from his *watan*, Orchha for about ten years (1692-1703). His presence for such a long period in his *watan* suggests that a permanent Bundela army, who were expert in guerrilla warfare was required in the region to check the increasing influence of the Marathas and the Bundelas under Chhatrasal in the northern part of the Mughal emire particulary in Bundelkhand and Malwa[1].

In 1703, Udwat Singh was transferred from the *subedari* of Iraj to the *quiledari* of the fort of Khelna[2], renamed Sakhrulana and promoted to the rank of 3,500/1,500[3]. The increase of 1,500 *zat* at a time shows that he was successful to a great extent in checking Marathas and Bundelas from the encroachment of the imperial territories specially in Bundelkhand. Besides his promotion, he was also given a conditional *mansab* of 500 *sawar*[4], perhaps due to strategic importance of the fort and continuous Maratha inroads. He successfully remained there for two years and repulsed the attacks of the enemy many a times during these years. He returned to Orchha after the death of emperor Aurangzeb in February 1707. Udwat Singh ruled Orchha for a very long period and served under Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah, Farukseyar and Muhammad Shah.

OTHER BUNDELA NOBLES OF THE HOSUE OF ORCHHA

Besides the *Rajas* of Orchah a number of their sons and brothers were also admitted to the imperial service and

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1. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 473.
2. Khelna is presently called vishalgarh. Grant Duff. *A History of the Marathas* (Ed. S. M. Edwardes) Vol. I. London, 1921, p. 177. See also Thorton, S. V. 'Vishalgarh'. It lies in the *ghats* about 60 miles North-West of Kolhapur.
3. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 473; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 884.

4 & 5. Ibid. *Masirul-Umara*, II, p. 884.

raised to the position of nobles.In the following details we have briefly discussed the career, position and role of these Bundelas.

(i) CHANDRAMANI

Chandramani[1] who was the fifth son of Bir Singh Deo held the *jagirs* of Jaitpur and Konch[2] during the life time of his father. Soon after his accession emperor Shahjahan admitted him to the Mughal service by granting Chndramani a *mansab* of 1000/600 in 1627[3]. When khan-i-jahan Lodi rebelled in 1629 Chandramani was appointed against the rebel and placed under Shaista Khan[4]. He performed meritorious services in the suppression of the revolt of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi[5]. After the suppression of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, Chandramni was sent in the Deccan where he fought many battles and showed rare valour during the conquest of Balaghat[6]. The Emperor was very much admired by his contribution and as a reward Shahjahan promoted him to the rank of 1500/700 in 1630[7]. During the conquest of the fort of Daulatabad and Parenda (1630-33) Chandramani served under the command of Khan-i-Dauran and led the rear-guard of the army[8]. He continued to serve in the Deccan till

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1. The comtemporary Persian sources like *Badshahnamas* of Qazwini and Lahori mention his name as Chandraman. Accoding to *Nainsi Khyat*, I. P. 130 his name was Chandramin while in *Bir Charitra* (p. 487) he is spelled as Chandramani.
2. *Bir Charitra*, p. 610. According to Dist. Gazetteer of Jhansi, pp, 171-80. Konch is located in Jalaun distt. U.P. in 25 -59 N≅79 ≅10 E. Due to the alluvial soil brought by rivers Betwa and Pahuj the Place was called as the garden of Bundelkhand in medieval period.
3. Lahori, I. P. 205
4. Qazwini, pt. b, pp. 200-1; Lahori, I. pp. 320-22
5. Lahori, I. P. 295
6. Qazwini, pt. b, p. 202; Lahori, I. p. 324, Salih, I. p 296
7. Lahori, I. p. 372
8. Qazwini. pt. b, p. 240; Lahori. I. p. 324; Salih. I. P. 296

1635 and for his extraordinary zeal the Emperor rewarded him several times[1] .

On the eve of the second rebellion of Jujhar Singh (1635), Chandramani, the younger brother of the rebel was at Burhanpur. When Jagraj, son of Jujhar Ṣingh, fled from the Deccan to join his father at Dhamuni Indramani hotly persued his causin and took him at Ashta in Malwa. A fierce battle took place in which Indramani killed many of the followers of Jagraj. Like other Bundela chiefs Indramnai also played important role in the conquest of Orchha, Dhamuni and Jhansi and also in the suppression of the rebellion of his brother Jujhar Singh[2] .

After the suppression and assassination of Jujhar Singh in 1635 Chandramani was again placed under khan-i-Dauran and sent in the Deccan against Nizam Shah and Shahuji Bhonsle. During the seige of the fort of Udgir Chndramani was appointed by Khan-i-Dauran to guard the eastern as well as western sides of the main gates of the fort[3] . The fort was shortly conquered and as a a reward for his valuable service Chandramani was promoted to the rank of 1500/800 in 1637. Afterwards, he stayed in the Deccan till 1640[4] .

When prince Murad Bakhsh was appointed to the campaign of Kabul in 1641, Chandramani was recalled from the Deccan and sent along with the prince[5]. In accordance with the imperial order Chandramani left Kabul alongwith the prince

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1 . Qazwini, pt. b, p. 301

2 . Qazwini. pt. C. pp. 344-51; Lahori, I.b. pp. 95-96; Inayat Khan, pp. 149-51 for more detial see the account of Jujhar Singh and Jagraj.

3 . Qazwini. pt. c, p. 391; Lahori IB, pp. 217-18

4 . Lahori, IB, p. 306

5 . Ibid, II, pt. I. p. 223

and attacked Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu of Kangra in 1642. The imperial army completely uprooted Jagat Singh who sued for peace. Chandramnai was again rewarded for his service[1] .

Although the Balkh and Badakshan campaigns of 1646 and 1647 under Prince Murad and Prince Aurangzeb proved utter failure but Chandramani played praisworthy roles in both the campaigns against the Uzbeks. The history of chandramani after 1647 is not available in our sources[2] .

(ii) NARHARI DAS

Narhari Das was[3] the seventh son of Bir Singh Deo and held Dhamuni as his *Jagir* in the life time of his father[4] . Very limited information is available in our sources about the career of Narhari Das. In 1630, emperor Shahjahan appointed Narhari Das to the Deccan campaign under Asaf Khan where he served till 1634. He held a *mansab* of 500/200 at the time of his death in 1634 in the Deccan[5] .

(iii) BENI DAS

Beni Das was the tenth son of Bir singh Deo and held *pargana* of Pahari as his *Jagir* at the time of his fathers death in 1627[6] . Emperor Shah Jahan awarded Beni Das a *mansab* of 500/40 in 1631[7] . For about seven years Beni Das

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1 . Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 393-94

2 . Ibid, pp, 485-86; Salih, III, p. 462

3 . *Bir Charitra* p. 487; In the *Badshah Nama* of Lahori, I. p. 295 his name is referred to as Narhar Das.

4 . Ibid, p. 610, According to *Nainsi Khyat*, I. P. 127, there were nine hundred villages under the *pargana* of Dhamuni yeilding an income of six lakhs of *dams*.

5 . Ibid Ib,p. 324

6 . *Bir Charitra* p. 487. According to *Munhat Nainsi Khyat*, I.P. 127, the *pargana* of Pahari comprised fourteen hundred villages and yeilded six lakhs of dams per annum.

7 . Lahori I. p. 368

served the Mughals in the Deccan and rendered valuable service specially in the conquest of the fort of Daulatabad. In 1638 Beni Das was promoted to 500/200[1]. After two years in 1640 he was killed[2].

(iv) PURAN MAL

Puran Mal also called Parmanand was the youngest son of Bir Singh Deo[3]. Due to his infancy Puran Mal like his other brothers was not admitted to the Mughal service till 1650. Emperor Shah Jahan granted him a *mansab* of 1000/1000 in 1651[4]. Following year in 1652 at the time of his appointment to the Deccan campaign under prince Aurangzeb, Puran Mal was promoted to the rank of 1500/1000[5]. He served in the Deccan under the Prince for four years (1652-55) and played significant roles in the conquest of the fort of Hydrabad, Bedar, Kalyani and Golconda for which he was promoted by the prince to the rank of 1500/1500[6]. However, the role of Puran Mal during the war of succession in not known.

In *Alamgir Nama* the name of Puran Mal again appears when he was sent against Shivaji in 1665[7]. The imperial army forced Shivaji to concede twenty three forts to the Mughals. After the treaty of Purandhar (1665) Puran Mal was promoted to the rank of 2000/1500 for his meritorious deeds against Shivaji[8]. Nex'. year in 1666 Puran Mal was placed under Diler Khan and sent against Bijapur. Although

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1. Lahori, Ib, p. 324
2. Ibid II, p. 249
3. Among the sons of Bir Singh Deo the name of Puran Mal is not mentioned in *Bir Charitra* p. 487. It appears that he was born after the completion of this work.
4. Waris, p. 98b
5. Ibid., p. 136 a
6. *Alamgir Nama* II, p. 905
7. Ibid. pp. 980-88
8. Ibid. p. 989

the Mughal campaign against Bijapur completely failed but the contingent of Puran Mal defeated the Bijapuri army several times[1]. Unfortunately, we find no reference of Puran Mal in our sources after 1666.

(v) MITRA SEN

Mitra Sen was the fourth and youngest son of Pahar Singh[2]. During the war of succession (1657-59) Mitra Sen fought the battle of Khajwa on the side of emperor Aurangzeb[3]. However, his role during the preceding battles of Dharmat and Samugarh is not clear. After the battle of Khajwa, the Emperror in 1660 awarded a *mansab* of 1500/200 to Mitra Sen for his loyalty and services[4]. Soon afterwards, he was appointed alongwith his elder brother Sujan Singh the Raja of Orchha, to suppress Champat Rai who had rebelled after the battle of Samugarh. The rebel was completely uprooted and later on killed in 1661[5]. After four years in 1665 like other Bundela nobles Mitra Sen was also dispatched by Aurangzeb against Shivaji. Shivaji was foced by the imperialists to surrender and sign the treaty of Purandhar. Following the submission of Shivaji Mitra Sen was deputed to serve in the Deccan and assist the Mughal army in its offensive against Bijapur. In a fierce battle which was fought in Bijapur between the imperialists and the Deccanis Mitra Sen killed Yaqut Khan Habshi (an Abyssinian) a highly esteemed Bijapur officer[6]. Mitra Sen rendered valuable services in the conquest of the fort of Khelna[7]. He continued to serve in the Deccan till 1668[8]. The subsequent history of Mitra Sen is not available to us.

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1. *Alamir Nama*, pp. 993-95
2. See the family tree of the house of Orchha
3. *Alamgir Nama* I. p, 247-49; *Lubab*, II, p. 92
4. *Alamgir Nama*, I. p. 502
5. For details see the account of Sujan Singh of Orchha
6. *Alamgir Nama*, II, pp. 989, 993-94
7. Ibid, pp. 1012-12
8. Ibid. p. 1062

CHAPTER III

House of Datiya

As mentioned above, a large part of Orchha kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire by emperor Shahjahan after the second rebellion and death of Jujhar Singh, eldest son and successor of Bir Singh Deo in 1635.[1] But many of the *jagirs* held by other sons of Bir Singh Deo were left in their possession because they stood loyal to the Mughal authority and rendered valuable services in suppressing the revolt of their brother, Jujhar Singh. These *jagirs* were also recognised by the Emperor as their *watan* jagirs.[2] One of such *jagirs* was of Datiya[3] held by Bhagwan Das.

(i) BHAGWAN DAS (1627-1640)

Bhagwan Das, the sixth son of Bir Singh Deo held Datiya as his *jagir* during the life-time of his father. Although Jujhar Singh who succeeded his father Bir Singh Deo as the ruler of Orchha in 1627 adopted a harsh policy towards his many brothers, however, the *jagir* of Datiya continued to be held by Bhagwan Das. After the death of emperor Jahangir his son and successor Shahjahan also maintained throughout his reign the friendly gesture established by his father with the Bundelas. Because of this and also due to the flight of Jujhar Singh from the imperial court in 1628 and his revolt the Emperor shortly after his accession granted Bhagwan Das a mansab of 1000/600 to win him over.[4]

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1. For details see the account of Jujhar Singh and his son Bikramajit (Jagraj).
2. For a number of *jagirs* held by the sons of Bir Singh Deo. See the account of Jujhar singh.
3. *Bir Charitra*, 487, 610; Cf. Smith 'Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1902, p. 15. Also see the account of Jujhar Singh and Bikramajit.
4. Qazwini, pt. a, p. 131; Lahori, I, p. 250.

In October 1628 Bhagwan Das was appointed for the first time to serve the imperial authority under Mahabat Khan against his brother Jujhar Singh who had rebelled. But due to early submission of the rebel the division led by Mahabat Khan could not launch its offensive. As a result Bhagwan Das did not play any important role at this time.[1] After the submission of Jujhar Singh in 1629 Bhagwan Das alongwith his brothers accompanied the imperial army to the Deccan under the command of Asaf Khan.[2] He and his brothers performed valuable service in the conquest of Balaghat.[3]

After serving for about six year under Asaf Khan, Bhagwan Das was associated with Khan Zaman in 1636 against Shahuji Bhonsale who had occupied about one fourth of Nizam Shahi territory. The imperial army which comprised 20,000 cavalary included a large contingent of Bhagwan Das.[4] The imperalists forced Shahuji to surrender all the illegally occupied territories including the forts of Udgir (Daultabad) and Usa (Orisa).[5] Bhagwan Das continued to serve in the Deccan till his death there in 1640. At the time of his death he held a *mansab* of 1500/1200.[6]

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1 . Qazwini, pt. (b), p. 169; Lahori, I, p. 240; Salih, I, pp. 242-44. For more political details see the account of Jujhar Singh.

2 . The other brothers of Bhagwan Das who also accompanied Asaf Khan (Amin-ud-Daula) were Jujhar Singh, Pahar Singh, Chandramani and Narhar Das.

3 . Lahori, I, pp. 294-96. Asaf Khan was appointed with 15,000 cavalary and about eighteen important nobles were attached to him for this campaign. It is important to note that out of eighteen nobles there were five Bundelas all of them being the sons of Bir Singh Deo.

4 . Lahori, I.b, p. 137; Cf Qazwini, pt.c, p. 365 who gives the total strength of the imperial army to 10,000 cavalary. It seem that Qazwini has mentioned the troops under Khan Zaman only and has excluded the contingent of the other nobles who accompanied the commander. Salih, II, pp. 118-20 has also mentioned this campaign in very detail.

5 . Qazwini, pt. C, p. 364. The forts of Udgir and Usa were considered as impregnable forts in the Deccan.

6 . Qazwini, pt. C, pp. 366-68; Lahori, II, p. 374.

(ii) RAO SUBHKARAN (1642-1678)

Rao Subhkaran (b. 1625) was the son of Bhagwan Das and grandson of Bir Singh Deo.[1] Two years after his father's death the Prince Aurangzeb recalled Rao Subhakarn from Datiya to the Deccan in 1642.[2] The author of *Masir-ul-Umara* specifically mentions that the prince, then the *subedar* of the Deccan sent a *nishan* alongwith some money to Datiya and also awarded him a *mansab* of 1000[3] . It shows that the father of Rao Subhkaran had established a good relation with the Prince as a result of his loyalty, meritorious service and his long stay in the Deccan. Thus, Rao Subhkaran joined the imperial service at a very young age of seventeen.

After his arrival in the Deccan, the Prince appointed him to serve under the command of Sayyid Abudl Wahab, the Mughal noble who was in Burhanpur and sent them for the conquest of Baglana. During the campaign the forts of Mulher[4] and Salhir[5], commonly known as Aurangabad fort, were captured. Besides these thirty three other forts of lesser importance also fell in the hands of the imperialists.[7] After this Rao Subhkaran was deputed against Jarla[8] which he fully brought under the Mughal control.[9]

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1 . Qazwini, pt. C, pp. 366-68; Lahori, II, p. 374.

2 . *Dilkusha*, p. 7 (a); *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, 442; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 278. None of these sources mention the year when Rao Subhkaran was summoned by Prince Aurangzeb. However, the remarks of the author of *Masir-ul-Umara* that when in the reign of Shahjahan the leadership of the clan of Bundelas was restored to Pahar Singh, Prince Aurangzeb sent a letter to Subhkaran, shows that the *nishah* was sent in 1642, The year when Pahar Singh was recognised as the *Raja* of Orchha by Shahjahan.

3 . *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 442.

4 . Mulhir fort in Nasik District, about 40 miles n. w. of Malegaon.

5 . Salhir fort was also located in Nasik District.

7 . *Dilkusha*, p. 7 (a); *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 443.

8 . Jarla fort was located in Baglana principality.

9 . *Dilkusha*, p. 7 (a); *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 443.

When Prince Aurangzeb was appointed as the governor of the Deccan for the second time in 1651, Rao Subhkaran served under him till 1656 and rendered valuable service during the conquest of Hyderabad[1] and seige of Golconda.[2] Bhimsen states that Rao Subhkahan showed rare volour in a number of skirmishes against the Deccanis and because of this he became one of the favourits of the prince.[3]

Rao Subhkaran accompanied Aurangzeb when he proceeded towards north to contest the war of succession (1657-59).[4] On the way he left his family at Burhanpur as suggested to him by the Prince. From Burhanpur they proceeded to Ujjain where the hotly contested battle of Dharmat was fought.[5] Rao Subhkaran fought bravely against the imperial forces but in the battle he was seriously injured.[6]

After his victory at Dharmat (1658) when Aurangzeb reached Gwalior he found all the routes to Dholpur strongly defended by imperial army. He came to know from the local *Zamindars* that Champat Rai who was in the neighbourhood of Mahewa could help him to locate some safe ferries from where the river of Chambal could be crossed. Rao Subhkaran was immediately dispatched from Narwar to contact Champat Rai. He succeeded in winning Champat Rai over to the side of Aurangzeb.[7] The combined army of

1. Waris 142 (a); Hyderabad was occupied by the royal army on 23rd January 1656, for details see, Sarkar, Aurangzeb, I & II, pp. 206-8.

2. According to Tavernier, pp. 166-69 the seige of Golconda fort lasted from the February to March 1656.

3. *Dilkusha*, p. 7 (a).

4. *Alamgir Nama*, I, p. 63; *Dilkusha*, p. 11 (a).

5. *Dilkusha*, p. 11 (a).

6. *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 443; *Alamgir Nama*, I. p. 63 adds that the nobles and soldiers who were seriously injured in the battle of Dharmat they received additional favours and kindness from Aurangzeb.

7. For details see the account of Champat Rai.

Prince Aurangzeb and Murad crossed the river safely and reached Samnugarh.[1] Rao Subhkaran was again injured by the forces of Prince Dara Shikoh in the battle of Samugarh.[2] Afterwards, Rao Subhkaran was one of those Bundela nobles[3] who played important role in defeating Prince Shuja in the battle of Khajwa (1659) and his younger brother, Prithiraj, was among those soldiers who lost their lives fighting bravely. Rao Subhkaran was awarded with a robe of honour after the victory.[4]

Taking advantage of the confusion and chaos which prevailed in the Mughal empire on the eve of war of succession Champat Rai who had earlier served Aurangzeb for sometime fled from Lahore after the battle of Samugarh. An immediate action against the rebel was not possible by the emperor Aurangzeb due to his preoccupation against his brothers Prince Dara and Shuja. But after the defeat of Shuja at Khajwa and the arrest of Prince Dara he took a serious note of Champat Rai who had closed all routes for Malwa.[5]

Rao Subhkaran was appointed (1659) to chastise and punish the rebel. At the time of his departure he was promoted to the rank of 2500/2000.[6] *Chhatra Prakash* mentions that when Rao Subhkaran reached in the vicinity of Jhansi Champat Rai took shelter in the fort of Iraj

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1 . Manucci, I, pp. 271-72; *Dilkusha*, p. 13 (b); *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 35-41.

2 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, p. 190; *Dilkusha*, p. 14 (a); For the details of the battle see, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 3; *Lubab*, pp. 11-17; Manucci (pp. 271-82), the Italian traveller who was incharge of Dara's artillery, gives the graphic account of the battle; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 20-23; *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 35-41.

3 . The other Bundela nobles who participated in the battle of Khajwa on the side of Aurangzeb were Debi Singh of Chanderi, Sujan Singh of Orchha, Indramani and Mitr Sen.

4 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, pp. 247-49; *Dilkusha*, p. 17 (a).

5 . *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 44.

6 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, pp. 301-2.

where a battle was fought but Rao Subhkaran failed to sub due the fort because he had limited troops at his command. But shortly afterwords he again attacked the rebel with a large army and a battle was fought at Dharaini but Champat Rai escaped from the battle field.[1] Because of unsatisfactory progress the Emperor recalled Rao Subhkaran from Bundelkhand and sent him to serve in the Deccan.[2]

In January 1660 Rao Subhkaran was placed under Shaista Khan who dispatched him for the conquest of Chaul, situated in Kokan principality of Nizamul Mulk. He fought many battles against the Marathas and also killed a number of them. Because of their regular and vigorous attacks the imperialists succeeded in conquering Chaul, Kalyan and Bhimri.[3] As a reward for his service Rao Subhkahan was appointed as the the *Faujdar* of Tarhar where he stayed for one year.[4] In 1661, Rao Subhkaran was promoted to 2500/2200 and deputed to Kabul from Tarhar where he served for four years.[5]

After his return from Kabul in 1665 Rao Subhkaran was again appointed to the Deccan under Mirza Raja Jai Singh against Shivaji. He played outstanding role specially during the conquest of the forts of Rahira and Rajgarh which were among the important strongholds of Shivaji and the area under them yeilded 1 lakh *huns* annually. Very shortly the impeialists forced Shivaji to surrender twenty three forts out of thirty five which he had under his

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 44-50; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 128.

2 . *Alamgir Nama*, p. 478. Khafi Khan, *(Lubab*, II, p. 128), mentions that the compaign under Rao Subhkaran against Champat Rao proved utter failure.

3 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 19b-20a.

4 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, p. 565.

5 . Ibid. II, p. 635.

control.[1] After the treaty of Purandhar (Nov. 1665) Rao Subhkaran accompanied Raja Jai Singh against the ruler of Bijapur. At this time he was appointed to lead the left wing of the imperial army with 8,000 cavalary.[2] When the imperialists advanced from Purandhar they defeated and killed Sharza Khan (Syed Ilyas), the Bijapuri commander, who opposed the royal army at Makhnapur.[3] As a consequence of this victory the imperialists reached to their destination on 28th December, 1665 but scarcity of provision in the royal camp, however forced them to raise the seige of Bijapur fort.[4] Although Rao Subhkaran continued to serve in the Deccan under Raja Jai Singh but on account of misunderstanding between them Rao Subhkaran left the commander and returned to 'emperor Aurangzeb at the court in 1667.[5]

On his return from the Deccan Rao Subhkaran was promoted[6] and many rewards were also given to him. The promotion and other rewards granted to Rao Subhkaran indicate that the Emperor was not unhappy with him although he had returned without the permission of Raja Jai Singh. On the contrary, Jai Singh was transferred to Kabul though the reasons were quite different.[7] Rao Subhkaran was now appointed to serve in Afghanistan under Mohammad Amin Khan, the *Mir Bakshi* and governor of Kabul. During his stay for a limited time Rao Subhkaran fought

1. *Alamgir Nama*, II, pp. 894-95, 898.
2. *Alamgir Nama*, II, 989; cf. *Dilkusha*, p. 27b, states that Rao Subhkaran who was leading the left wing had 7,000 cavalary at his command; *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 443.
3. *Dilkusha*, p. 27a; *Bustain*, p. 465. The Bijappuri commander, Sharza Khan had 80,000 cavalary at his disposal.
4. *Dilkusha*, p. 27a.
5. Ibid. Makhnapur, 10 miles north of Bijarpur fort.
6. *Alamgir Nama*, II, p. 1044. The *mansab* of Rao Subhkaran is mistaken.
7. Ibid.

many battles against the Yusufzai and defeated them serveral times. But in spite of his meritorious service he was recalled shortly because of his differences with the governor and deputed against the Deccanis under Prince Muazzam in 1668.[1]

Chhatra Prakash mentions that in 1668 Chhatrasal, the rebel Bundela chief, paid a visit to Rao Subhkaran who was serving in the Deccan to persue him to launch a joint offensive against the imperial authority. But Rao Subhkaran did not agree to his proposal; on the contrary he promised to intercede on his behalf for grant of a suitable *mansab*. Chhatrasal, however, refused to accept the proposal.[2] But the reason for his visit, as mentioned by Bhimsen, was not to unite the Bundela chief against the imperial authority but it was aimed at securing help from them to strengthen his own position. But Rao Subhkaran was not ready to unnecessarily spoil his relation with the Mughal Emperor by recruiting him in his service.[3]

Rao Subhkaran served in the Deccan with utmost loyalty for almost eleven years (1668-1680) under four viceroys, *i. e.*, Prince Muazzam (1668-70) Mahabat Khan[4] (1670-72), Bahadur Khan[5] (1672-1676) and Diler Khan[5] (1678-80).

In 1670 Rao Subhkaran alongwith the governor Mahabat Khan attacked the fort of Ahivant but despite heavy

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1 . Ibid, p. 1046; *Dilkusha*, p. 37 a; *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 443.

2 . *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 89-91.

3 . For details see the account of Chhatrasal.

4 . *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, pp. 28-31. Lahrasp, the second son of Mahabat Khan was given the title of Mahabat Khan after his father's death in 1634. He was twice appointed as the governor of Kabul and in the same capacity he was sent to the Deccan in 1670. He died in 1674.

5 & 5. Bahadur Khan was appointed as the governor of the Deccan in 1672 with a *mansab* of 6000/6000 and was replaced by Diler Khan in 1676. *Dilkusha*, p. 71a.

fighting they failed to capture the fort. In the following year (1671) when the royal army was on its way to Aurangabad, the Marathas surprised the imperialists by attacking them when they were crossing a small stream. Bhimsen who was present in the camp writes that Rao Subhkaran alongwith his Bundela contingent rupulsed the enemy by killing about four hundred Marathas. In this engagement his son Rao Dalpat was also injured. Bhimsen actually thanks Rao Subhkaran for saving the imperial army from total destruction.[1] Shortly after his arrival Bahadur Khan who succeeded Mahabat Khan as the governor of the Deccan in 1672 dispatched an army under Rao Subhkaran to Chamargonda[2] to prevent the Marathas who were advancing to attack Poona. He intercepted the enemy and saved the city from being shaked. After the Marathas were forced to retreat Rao Subhkaran, in accordance with the governor's order, stayed in the village named Pedgaon for sometime to watch the activities of the enemy in the neighbouring areas.[3]

During the tenure of the same governor, Bahadur Khan (in 1674) a very interesting development took place in Mughal-Maratha relations. It was an important aspect of Mughal policy to win Maratha and other Deccani nobles to their side by offers of *mansabs* and other favours; and we notice that a large number of Deccanis came over to the Mughals. Around 1674 Shivaji also tried to win Mughal nobles by dubious means and atleast two Mughal nobles Jadhao Rao and Hilal Khan came over to him. Shivaji adopted a new

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1 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 51a-53a.

2 . Pedgaon, in Shrigonda *taluka* of Ahmadnagar district, situated on the north, bank of the river Bhima which separated the territories of Adil Shah and Nizamul Mulk, 8 miles south of Shrigonda.

3 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 63a-64b.

strategy; he opened negotiations for peace and dispatched these nobles to Bahadur Khan saying that they were being sent back as sign of good gesture. Bahadur Khan, nevertheless, was doutful about the intention of Shivaji. He appointed Rao Subhkaran to inquire into the matter and bring out the truth. He made a detailed enquiry and met Jadhao Rao and Hilal Khan and finally came to the conclusion that the peace proposals of Shivaji were merely a trap for the imperialists.[1]

As mentioned in preceding details that Shivaji failed to use the Mughal nobles for his interest. But in the following year (1675) we find that Bahadur Khan succeeded in bringing to his side two important Bijapuri nobles Sheikh Minhaj and Muhammad Junaidi and utilised their services properly in the interest of imperial authority. This was achieved on the intervention of Rao Subhkaran who persued these nobles to join the Mughal service. Not only this, they performed meritorious services alongwith Rao Subhkaran during the conquest of the fort of Naldurg shortly after they associated themselves with the imperialists. Although, Rao Subhkaran and Sheikh Minhaj were seriously injured by the army of Bahlol Khan Bijapuri while reinforcing Islam Khan who was commanding the right wing of the imperial army.[2]

Diler Khan replaced Bahadur Khan as the new *subedar* of the Deccan in 1676. A little after taking the charge he launched an offensive for the conquest of Malkher. Rao Subhkaran and his sons[3] were appointed to command the

1. Ibid, pp. 67b-68a; cf. *Bustain-us-salatin*, pp. 97-98, the above development took place in 1675.
2. *Dilkusha*, p. 71a; cf. Sarkar (*Aurangzeb*, IV, pp. 164-65), who mention that the battle of Naldurg was fought on 13th June, 1676.
3. The sons of Rao Subhkaran who participated in the seige of Malkher were Rao Dalpat, Anup-Singh, Kesar Singh and Padam Singh.

rear-guard of the royal forces. The seige continued for a very long time. There was acute shortage of provision in the army and there was no sign of an early victory. Therefore, on the suggestion of Rao Subhkaran, Diler Khan agreed to raise the seige and returned to Gulbarga, where a settlement was made with Sidi Masud, the Bijapuri commander.[1]

The peace settlement of Gulbarga solved the Mughal-Bijapur problem at least for some time. Diler Khan now diverted his attention towards Shivaji. He left Parenda for Bidar (Jafarabad) against the Marathas in 1677 placing the fort under the charge of Rao Subhkaran. But shortly afterwards Diler Khan sent message to Rao Subhkaran to join him at Sholapur with his entire Bundela contingent. The imperialists encamped at Bahadurgarh and started watching the progress of Shivaji for launching their offensive against him.[2] But due to his serious illness Rao Subhkaran left the place giving the charge of his entire troops to his son Rao Dalpat. He returned to Parenda in 1678 where he had his quarter and died there at the age of fifty three.[3]

From the above discussion of the career of Rao Subhkaran in the Deccan which is spread over eleven years it emerges that there was total chaos and confusion in the Deccan. The Mughal high command was not very clear in mind about the policies to be pursued in the Deccan; the campaign were being continued in all directions-against Shivaji,

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1 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 76b-77ab; *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 443.

2 . *Dilkusha*, p. 79a; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 102, mentions that Shivaji attacked Mungipatan (30 miles south of Aurangabad) on 8th May, 1678.

3 . *Dilkusha*, p. 79a; cf. *Masir-ul-Umara* (I, p. 443) mentions that Subhkaran had his quarter at Bahadurgarh.

Bijapur and Golconda at the same time. The net result of this stratagem was little success against any one.[1]

On the sad demise of Rao Subhkaran, Bhimsen painfully remarks ''Alas ! the death of that fortune man is infact a great loss.'' At the time of his death he held the *mansab* of 2500/2200[2] and the *faujdari* of Ratha Mahoba and Jalalpur Khabdup which was subsequently assigned to Manawwar Khan.[3] A *Chabutra* was built and a large reservior (tank) was also constructed by his son Rao Dalpat the spot where Rao Subhkaran was cremeted, near the fort of Parenda.[4]

About the personality of Rao Subhkaran, Bhimsen writes that he was a brave soldier and always rendered meritorious service in every battle in which he participated. He kept himself always ready to advance quickly against the enemies and tried to strike upon them first. On most of the occasions he won the battle. He often used to say that he had actively took part in a number of battles but did not die. Infact, he never worried of his life in the battle field because he left his fortune on the will of God. He also believed that it was no good to be afraid of death because no one could spare himself from it and the same is bound to happen at the appointed time and place. Bhimsen further states ''in his sense of sincerity and loyalty he was quite straight forward.''[5]

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1 . For political details see. History of Aurangzeb,IV, Chapt. V, pp. 64-74.

2 . *Dilkusha*, p. 81a.

3 . *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 163; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 279, mentions the *faujdari* of Ratha Mahoba only under Rao Subhkaran at the time of his death.

4 · *Dilkusha*, p. 101b; *Masir-ul-Umara*, mentions that Subhkaran died at Bahadurgarh whereas according to *Umara-i-Hunud* (p. 279) his death took place at his *watan*, Datiya.

5 · *Dilkusha*, p. 81a.

(iii) RAO DALPAT (1678–1707)

Rao Dalpat[1], the eldest son of Subhkaran was admitted to the Mughal service in 1669 with a *mansab* of 250/80[2]. For a long period of about ten years (1669-78) he served emperor Aurangzeb along with his father in various capacities in the Decean. He was injured in 1672 while fighting against the Marathas near Aurangabad[3]. Aurrangzeb was greatly inspired by his dedication and promoted him to the rank of 300/300 in 1673[4]. In the same year Rao Dalpat was sent to the Emperor with a large booty which the imperial army had captured from Shivaji at Chamargonda in Ahmadnagar[5]. After five years in 1678 Rao Dalpat was again promoted to the rank of 400/400 at the time of his departure to Sholapur against Shivaji[6]. As mentioned in the account of Rao Subhkaran that the latter fell ill seriously at Bahadurgarh and left the place for his quarter at Parenda placing his entire Bundela contingent under the command of his son Rao Dalpat[7]. Following the death of his father the *mansab* of Rao Dalpat, on the request of Diler Khan, the *Subeder* of the Decean, was increased to 500/500 by the Emperor[8]. The first battle in which Rao Dalpat participated as the head of the Bundela troops was during

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1. *Dilkusha* p. 2b; *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri* (or Letters of Auranggeb), tr. Jamshed H. Bilomoria, Delhi, 1972; *Masir-ul-Umara*, I. p. 442. *Umra-i-Hunud*, p. 200 mentions the name of Rao Dalpat with slight variation as Rao Dilip. For the family members of Rao Dalpat see the family chart of the House of Datiya.
2. *Masir-ul-Umara*, I-443 *Umra-i-Hunud*, p. 200 cf. *Dilkusha*, p. 38a in which Bhimsen has not given the *sawar* rank.
3. *Dilkusha*, P. 61a
4. *Masir-ul-Umara*, I. 443; cf. Dilkusha, p. 70 b, his *mansab* is referred to 600.
5. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 128-29
6. *Dilkusha*, p. 79a; *Masir-i-Alamgiri* I. p. 202
7. *Dilkusha*, p. 79a; *Masir-ul-Umara* I. P. 443
8. *Dilkusha*, p. 81b, *Masir-ul-Umara*, I. p. 443, *Umra-i-Hunud* p. 200

the siege of Bijapur fort. In this battle he fought bravely and saved the life of Syed Latif, a leading noble of the imperial army holding the rank of 5000/5000[1] .

In 1679 Diler Khan was transfered and Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash took over the charge of the Decean. Rao Dalpat continued to serve in the same capacities[2] . But in the following year a very important development took place. Rao Dalpat was accused by Kokaltash, a very senior noble, of supplying arms and other vital informations to Prince Akbar through his agents. The situation in the Decean because of the rebellion of Prince Akbar, who had the support of certain Rajput chiefs and had taken shelter at the court of Sambhaji, had become very complicated. Doubts had been created about the loyalty of a number of nobles. In the given circumstances and because of the charge was levelled by a senior noble Rao Dalpat was immediately summoned by the governor. He was asked to submit oral and written evidences in his favour. Rao Dalpat was greatly annoyed at this and after rejecting the charges levelled against him he left for Aurangabad. Khan-i-Jahan Kokaltash dispatched an army to arrest him. In a fierce battle fought at Aurangabad Rao Dalpat defeated Khan-i-Jahan army. Khan-i-Jahan now dispatched a letter to the Emperor with complete details of the incident. But before this letter could reach the court, Rao Dalpat presented himself before the Emperor and explained his position. On the orders of Aurangzeb a thorough enquiry was made of the allegations levelled by Kokaltash against Rao Dalpat and it was found that Rao Dalpat was implicated

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1 . *Dilkusha* p. 79a; *Masir-ul-Umara* I.P. 443

2 . For the details about serveral campaings in which Rao Dalpat participated against the Marathas see *Dilkusha* pp. 82a-84-85a.

through the complicity of the servants of Sambhaji. Rao Dalpat was completely exonerated of all the blames[1] .

The above development soured the relation between Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur and Rao Dalpat. Because of this the Emperor now appointed Rao Dalpat under Prince Azam in 1681. Serving loyally under the Prince Rao Dalpat played important role in the conquest of Kalyan and Bhiwandi in Kokan region. A large booty was also captured from these places which Rao Dalpat brought to Bahadurgarh[2] . Emperor Aurangzeb also reached in the Decean at the same time and when he came to know of these achievements of Rao Dalpat he promoted him to the rank of 600/600 *du aspa-sih aspa*[3] .

Soon afterwards Rao Dalpat alongwith Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan was sent to capture the fort of Ramsej. On reaching in the vicinity of Ramsej the fort was put to siege and to cut the supply of the besieged and put pressure Rao Dalpat constructed a very high and large wooden structure with a capacity of accommodating about 500 soldiers to watch the movement of troops of the enemy. Another structure was raised on Karkach hill situated on the opposite of the fort of Ramsej to put further pressure on the enemy. The siege lasted for about eight months (from March 1681 to October 1682) and a huge amount of money was spent. Besides that a large number of soldiers were also killed in the skirmishes. But there appeared no hope of an early surrender of the fort. In these circumstances the

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1 . *Dilkusha*, p. 85b-87ba; the authors of *Masir-ul-Umara* (I, 443) and *Umra-i-Hunud* (p. 200) have not given the reason for the conflict between Khan-i-jahan Bahadur and Rao Dalpat. For the rebellion of Prince Akbar and aftermath, see, *Masir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 122-123 and Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, pp. 101-102.

2 . *Dilkusha*, p. 87 a; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 130, *Masir-ul-Umara*, I. p. 443

3 . *Masir-ul-Umara* I. 443; *Dilkusha* pp. 87b-88a) also mentions the promotion of Rao Dalpat to 600/600 but without mentioning *du aspa Sih aspa*

imperialists were forced to raise the siege and return to the head quarter[1] . However, Rao Dalpat was praised for his services during the siege and promoted to the rank of 700/700[2] .

After their return from Ramsej Rao Dalpat and Shahabuddin Khan both were dispatched to suppress the Marathas in Kokan region. They repeatedly defeated the enemy in several engagements and compelled them to retreat. Rao Dalpat's services were again appreciated and alongwith Shihabuddin Khan he was sent to Junair[3] where they continuously served against the Marathas till May 1685[4] .

During his first four years of stay in the Decean Emperor attempted to suppress the Maratha power. But in spite of putting constant pressure (1681-1684) the Mughals could not achieve much because of the dubious roles of the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda. Aurangzeb now decided first to conquer Bijapur and Golconda[5] .

In 1685 Rao Dalpat and Ghaziuddin Khan (formally called Shahabuddin Khan) were recalled from Junair and sent to Bijapur at the head of a large army and other provisions to reinforce Prince Azam who was besieging the fort of Bijapur. On the way at Nagthan they were surprised by the sudden attack of the enemy but Rao Dalpat repulsed them and reached safely to their destination. Rao Dalpat was promoted to the rank of 1500/1500 and given the title of Rao and Ghazinddin Khan that of Firoz Jang for their

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1 . *Dilkusha.* pp, 88a-89a; *Jedhe* (ss), p. 27

2 . *Dilkusha,* pp, 89a; *Masir-ul-Umara, I. p. 443*

3 . *Dilkusha,* pp. 90a-91a; *Masir-i-Almagiri,* p. 147

4 . *Marsir-i-Alamgiri,* p. 158

5 . For more details see *History of Auranga:eb,* V, Chapts. XII & XIII

services[1] . Rao Dalpat performed valuable services during the siege operations and was injured while reinforcing Fateh Ali Khan, a Mughal officer appointed to guard one of the trenches of the fort. After the surrender of the fort on 12th September 1686[2] Rao Dalpat was sent to escort out of the fort Sikander Adil Shah the ruler of Bijapur, to the presence of the Prince[3] .

On 2nd November 1686 Rao Dalpat and Firoz Jang were dispatched in advance to capture Hydrabad[4]. The Emperor himself reached Sholapur to boost up the morale of the imperial army. While the siege of Hydrabad was in progress Rao Dalpat was sent from there to chastise Shaikh Nizam Hydrabadi who was reportedly sending reinforcements inside the fort of Ibrahimgarh, located in the suburbs of Hydrabad fort[5]. Rao Dalpat defeated Nizam completely in a number of combats fought on the outskirts of the fort of Ibrahimgarh. After his return from Ibrahimgarh he performed great deeds of valour in siege of Hydrabad also which was finally occupied in 1686[6].

During the conquest of Golconda Rao Dalpat was appointed the *Chaukidar* of the *Morchal*. Throughout the period of siege which continued for about nine months (4th January 1687-21th September 1687) the main target of the enemy was Rao Dalpat. He had to bear the burnt of the Qutubshahi attack constantly; a large number of his soldiers were killed and he himself was wounded several

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1 . *Dilkusha*, p. 99b; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 170

2 . *Masir-i-Alamgiri, p. 171.*

3 . *Dilkusha, p. 101 b; Bustain-us-Salatin* p. 607 Abdul Rauf Khan was sent by Sikandar Shah to Firoz Jang who settled the terms of peace with the Mughals.

4 . *Dilkusha* p. 103a; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 173

5 . *Dilkusha*, p. 103 b.

6 . *Dilkusha*, p. 103 b

times but the *Morchal* was effectively guarded[1]. Ultimately as a result of the continuous pressure of the imperialists and defection of many Qutubshahi officers to the Mughals the fort was occupied on 21st September 1687[2].

The success at Bijapur and Golconda greatly enhanced the prestige of the Mughal army as well as their resources. As a token of reward for his valuable service in the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda Rao Dalpat was promoted to the rank of 2000/2000. In February 1698 he was sent for the conquest of the fort of Adoni in Madras from Sidi Masud which he occupied on 6th August 1688[3]. He was appointed its *quiledar* and *faujdar* with a raised *mansab* of 2500/2500[4]. During his stay at Adoni the Marathas and one of the sardars of Berads named Elakbora made a surprise attack on the fort of Raichur (renamed Firoznagar) in 1689. Rao Dalpat immediately dispatched Hafiz Mohammad, one of his trusted officers to repulse the attack. But due to the small number of forces as compared to their opponents Hafiz waited for the arrival of Sarmad Khan from Gulbarga with adequate force and siege materials. After the arrival of the reinforcements the imperialist launched an offensive and on 29th November 1689 they recaptured the area[5].

According to Bhimsen, after serving for about four years as the *faujdar* of Adoni Rao Dalpat resigned from the

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1. Ibid p. 104 a
2. *Masir-i-Alamgiri* p. 182
3. *Dilkusha* p. 96 ab. for the details about the conquest of Adoni and its related battles see, Manucci. III. p. 230; *Masir-i-Alamgir* p. 187
4. *Dilkusha* p. 96 a; cf. *Masir-ul-Umara* I. p. 443 and *Umra-i-Hunud* p. 210 both these accounts mention that Rao Dalpat was promoted to the rank of 2500/1500 after the conquest of Adoni by him.
5. *Dilkusha*, p. 98 ab.

post in 1691 on account of his misunderstanding with some Mughal officers and lack of defensive materials at the fort[1]. The above statement of Bhimsen is also substantiated from the details of *Masir-i-Alamgiri* which states that the extended Mughal frontier created more problems as it became more vulnerable to the Maratha attacks. Besides this the speedy recovery of the Marathas after Sambhaji's death in 1689 resulted in a series of Mughal reverses[2]. In the light of the above facts it may be suggested that Rao Dalpat resigned as he started experiencing his position unsafe.

Aurangzeb took a lenient view of his resignation; no strong action was taken against him only 500/500 of his *mansab* was reduced. But Rao Dalpat was greatly depressed on the reduction of his *mansab.* To persue his case he presented himself before the Emperor but he failed to win his confidence. It appears from the remarks of Bhimsen that some senior Mughal officers who were not on good terms with Rao Dalpat conspired against him which resulted into his demotion[3].

After the above development Rao Dalpat was dispatched from Aurangabad to escort Prince Bidar Bakht to headquarter who was returning back from Mathura after the suppression of the revolts of Jats. Rao Dalpat in a hotly contested battle defeated the Marathas at Tuljapur, 10 *kos* from Naldurg and saved the prince. Afterwards he escorted an embassy who had come from Turan. The Marathas under their officer Lakhnu Sindhia attacked the envoy to loot the large possession he had at his disposal. But they were

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1. Ibid, p. 101 a
2. *Masir-i-Alamgiri,* pp. 200-204
3. *Dilkusha,* p. 101 a.

completely defeated and a large number of them were killed by Rao Dalpat who was escorting the envoy. When the Emperor was informed about this brave and bold action of Rao Dalpat, he immediately ordered him to be restored to his previous rank of 2500/2500[1] .

After his return to the court Rao Dalpat was again dispatched to reinforce Amanullah Khan the *Mir Tuzuk.* Amanullah Khan with large imperial treasure was on his way to Aurangabad and was under constant pressure of the Marathas. On his way Rao Dalpat fought several battles against the Marathas and succeeded in carrying the treasure to the headquarter[2] .

Bhimsen has praised his patron, Rao Dalpat for honestly maintaining due troopers against his *sawar* rank in those years (1691 and onwards) when even the senior Mughal nobles were not properly maintaing and paying their contingent. Not only this Rao Dalpat recruited nine hundred Bundela into his army in excess of his required number of troopers (*zabita*). Although he failed to get it sanctioned from the Emperor. Despite the refusal of the Aurangzeb, Rao Dalpat admitted them to his service and continued to pay them regularly[3] . The fact that Rao Dalpat had at his command the troopers more than his *sawar* rank of 2500 is also corroborated by Manucci who has given the total strength of the army maintained by him in 1692 to 15,000 cavalry and much more infantry[4].

When Rao Dalpat reached at Sholapur after escorting the

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1 . *Dilkusha*, p. 101 ab; *Masir-ul-Umara, I.* P. 444

2 . *Dilkusha*, 102 a

3 . *Dilkusha*, p. 102 a

4 . *Manucci*, II, pt. III, p. 408

Turani embassy the Emperor shortly dispatched him to Gogi for assisting Prince Kam Bakhsh who was besieging the fort of Wakinkhera. The prince appointed Rao Dalpat to command the rearguard of the imperial army[1] . As mentioned earlier that the Mughals in the beginning greatly succeeded in bringing several important Deccani officers including Marathas to their side. But after the death of Sambhaji in 1689 and because of the reverses of the Mughals they deserted the Mughal camp and rallied behind Raja Ram. While the siege of the fort of Wakinkhena was in progress a large number of Maratha officers left the imperial side and joined Raja Ram at Jinji. Because of these the siege was raised in 1691[2] .

Rao Dalpat proceeded from Wakinkhera to Jinji to reinforce the Mughal commander and his patron Firoz Jang who was besieging the fort in which the Maratha *Sardar* had taken shelter. With a speedy march and after passing through unfrequented passages Rao Dalpat reached with large provisions to Firoz Jang. After his arrival Rao was entrusted the charge of patrolling the fort[3] . The authors of *Dilkusha* and *Masir-i-Almigiri* both of them have highlighted the jealousies, rivalries and factionalism within the nobility which became visible in course of the siege of Jinji[4]. Bhimsen has specifically criticised the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb. He further states that the Mughal officers and even the princes always found private deals with the Marathas more profitable than resisting

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1 . *Dilkusha*, p. 102 b

2 . Ibid; *Jedhe* (ss) p. 33, mentions that Nemji Sindhia Mankoji Pandhare and Nagoji Nane were among the several Maratha officers who had earlier joined the Mughal service but in 1691 they deserted the imperial camp and supported Raja Ram at Jinji.

3 . *Dilkusha*, p. 103a; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 205

4 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 1386-140a; *Masir-i-Alamgiri* , p. 215

them[1]. From his remarks it appears that at this time the Mughal nobility was widely divided into two groups *i.e.*, Turanis and Iranis. Turani group was headed by Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jang and his son Chin Qilich who were the favourites of prince Kam Bakhsh. The second group of Iranis was represented by Asaf Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan Jafar Jang who were the supporters of prince Azam. Rao Dalpat was the staunch supporter of the second group[2]. When the siege of Jinji was in progress prince Kam Baksh started private deals with Raja Ram. Firoz Jang who was the commander of the imperial army but not a member of the prince's group complained the Emperor to this effect. Aurangzeb took a serious note of this and Rao Dalpat who was the right hand officer of Firoz Jang (Zulfiqar Khan) was appointed to guard the camp of the prince. He was also empowered not to allow any stranger to enter the camp without the prior permission of Firoz Jang. At the same time Aurangzeb also instructed the prince to respect the command and decision of Firoz Jang[3].

The Marathas under Santaji and Dhana were making regular efforts to release their *sardar* Raja Ram out of the fort of Jinji. In their attempts they with a large troopers surprised the Mughal officer Ismail Kahn who was guarding the western outpost of the fort. When Firoz Jang was informed that Ismail Khan was being hard pressed by the Marathas he ordered Rao Dalpat to go for his rescue. But before he could reach there Rao Dalpat came to know that Ismail Khan along with his followers had already been

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1. Ibid, p. 140 ab.
2. Ibid, 153a Also see *Nobility under Aurangzeb*, p. 109; *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court*, p. 6
3. *Dilkusha*, p. 106 a; *Masir-i-Alamgiri* p. 215

imprisoned by the enemy[1]. Because of this Rao Dalpat returned from midway and joined Firoz Jang at Wandiwash who with a small army of 1200 had gone there to collect provisions. When the above Maratha officers came to know that Rao Dalpat and Firoz Jang were present at Wandiwash with a limited contingent at their command they launched their attack and killed a considerable number of the imperialists. Rao Dalpat bravely saved the life of Firoz Jang who had fallen under the pressure of the Marathas. Bhimsen the officer and historian of Rao Dalpat who was also present there has praised Rao Dalpat as under "Rao Dalpat prepared himself to do or die, marched straight fearlessly upon enemy[2]. Meantime Sarfaraz Khan, the Mughal officer, reached with reinforcement (6,000 cavalry). Now the imperialists forced the Marathas to retreat from Desur[3].

The siege of Jinji had prolonged for twenty months (May 1691 January 1693) but yet early surrender of the fort was not possible. During the entire period of the siege a large number of imperialists including several important officers were killed and a considerable amount of wealth was spent but proved of no avail. Rao Dalpat was not in favour of any early peace treaty with the Marathas. He requested Firoz Jang to continue the siege for sometime and also assured him to spend 40 lakhs of rupee he had at

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1 . *Dilkusha*, p. 107 a; *Jedhe* (ss) p. 34, mentions that Dhanaji Yadav captured Isamil Khan with 500 horses and 2 elephants. For more political details see, *Lubab*, p. 141. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 216 states that Ismail Khan Moka, a great Mughal commander, was wounded and carried of through the exertion and reinforcement of Santaji

2 . *Dilkusha* p. 108 a.

3 . Ibid, pp. 108b-10 a ; letter dated 8th January 1693, *Fort St. George Diary and Collection Book of 1693*, p. 23, adds that the Maratha officer Santaji had 20,000 army at his command and forced Zulfiquar Khan Firoz Jang to take shelter in the fort of Desur. Also see *Lubab* p. 143

his command for raising more troopers and for the maintenance of imperial artillery at Jinji. But Firoz Jang refused the proposals of Rao Dalpat and concluded the peace settlement with Raja Ram in January 1673. Under the terms and conditions of the treaty the imperial army raised the siege of Jinji and returned to Wandiwash[1] .

Rao Dalpat fell seriously ill at Wandiwash shortly after his return from Jinji in 1693. He was treated by physician named Manucci who was sent by Firoz Jang from Madras[2] . After the recovery of his health Rao Dalpat along with Jafar Jang was appointed for the conquest of Perumukdal fort which they by surprise attacks in the night brought under imperial sway in December `1693[3] .

Two months after the conquest of the fort of Perumukdal Rao Dalpat and other Mughal officers were appointed in March 1693 against the chief of Tanjore who had stopped paying the tribute and also had accumulated great wealth and large territories of his neighbouring *Zamindars*. On his way to Tanjore when Rao Dalpat reached Trichinopoli the *Zamindar* of the area paid a handsome amount of tribute as a token of his loyalty to the imperial threshold and complained Rao Dalpat about the highhandedness and tyranny of the chief of Tanjore. Rao Dalpat defeated the chief of

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1 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 110a-11b Bhimsen does not mention the name who entermediated the peace terms. He simply states that the peace came from behind the screen of unknown. Raja Ram agreed to make a peace settlement with the Mughals in spite of the fact that his Maratha officers were not in favour of such move. cf. Martins Memoirs (HOs) p.. 247-48, mentions that Asad Khan and his son Zulfiquar Khan sent their officers to Raja Ram to be allowed to return in safety.

2 . For details see, *Dilkusha*, p. 112a; cf.. Manucci, II. p. 132, he wrongly states that Rao Dalpat was the son of Champat Rai. As mentioned in the beginning of Rao Dalpat's account that he was the son of Subhkaran Bundela. Manucci is also misled when he mentions the death of Champat Rai on the eve of war of succession (1658). He has given a vivid description about the illness of Rao Dalpat and his visit to many doctors for treatment.

3 . *Dilkusha*, p. 113 a

Tanjore in a hotly contested battle and forced him to pay a large tribute of 40 lakhs of *charkhi* (round coins). The chief of Tajore was also compelled to restore all those areas to their respective *Zamindar* from whom he had earlier snatched away[1] .

On the way back to Wandiwash from Tanjore Rao Dalpat with great difficulty conquered the fort of Palamkota on 23rd June 1694. During its conquest he guarded the trenches of the fort and fought several fierce battles. In spite of a heavy loss of his followers Rao Dalpat continued to maintain regular pressure on the garrison which left the fort in the night. Firoz Jang was so admired by the services of Rao Dalpat and his devoted companions during the siege of the fort of Palamkota that he himself rewarded them. Firoz Jang also informed the Emperor about the contribution of Rao Dalpat. As a reward Aurangzeb offered Rao Dalpat a promotion of 200/200 which the latter considering it a meagre reward refused to accept[2] .

In 1695 a very important development took place in the family of Rao Dalpat. His eldest son named Ramchandra revolted against Rao Dalpat and started misguiding and conspiring the Bundelas and other supporters of his father and the Emperor. Ram Chandra was arrested and produced before Aurangzeb. But the Emperor pardoned him due to the intervention of Sarup Singh, younger brother of Ram Chandra who furnished the security bound for his elder brother[3] . Afterwards, Ramchandra was placed under the command of Khan Abzad Khan, son of late Ruhullah Khan.

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1. Ibid, p. 114 a; *Jedhe Chronology*
2. *Dilkusha*, p. 114 b - 115 a
3. Ibid p. 117 a

When the Emperor was informed that Qasim Khan, the *faujdar* of Karnataka, was being hard pressed by the Maratha officer Santaji, Aurangzeb dispatched Ram Chandra for the rescue of Qasim Khan. Although the imperial army was completely defeated by the Marathas and Qasim Khan took shelter at Doderi however, Ram Chandra distinguished himself in the battle fought at Doderi[1] . As a reward for his meritorious service the Emperor appointed him the *thanedar* (inspector) of Garh Namuna. After serving loyally for few months Ram Chandra again revolted and reached Bundelkhand with the intension of capturing the property of his father from Datiya. Chhatrasal Bundela who was also in open rebellion promised Ram Chandra to help him in his enterprise. At this juncture the Emperor who had earlier pardoned and favoured Ram Chandra took a serious view of his rebellious activities. He directed the Mughal officers posted in the principality of Bundelkhand to kill the rebel. At the same time Rao Dalpat also sent an army against his son. When the rebel came to know of these actions taken against him he took shelter with Chhatrasal[2] .

Bhimsen who has given the details about the rebellion of Ram Chandra does not mention the reason of the revolt. From the preceding details and a careful study of the relation of Bundela chiefs of different houses it would appear that Ram Chandra revolted on the instigation of Chhatrasal who was not in good terms either with the Bundela Rajas of Orchla, Datiya and Chanderi or the Mughals[3] .

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1 . *Dilkusha.* p. 118 a. Doderi or Doddari (14°20'N–75°46'E) was located in Chittaldurg districh of Mysore state (now in karnataka) 22 miles east of Chitaldurg

2 . *Dilkusha.*, p 118a.

3 . For details see the conclusion

As mentioned in preceding pages that in 1673 the imperial army failed to bring the fort of Jinji[1] under its control due to many unfavourble circumstances. After four years in 1697 the imperialists again led the siege of the fort of Jinji. Rao Dalpat was initially appointed to guard the trenches lying around the fort of Krishnagiri. But he was shortly replaced from there and appointed by Firoz Jang near the gate way of Shohingwaram fort. Out of the total forts which numbered six of Jinji Rao Dalpat alone conqeured Sholingwaram and Kalakot in spite of the loss of his large number of companions. The other four remaining forts of Jinji were also reduced by the imperialists respectively. But Raja Ram escaped from the fort[2] .

It is enough interesting to note that Firoz Jang offered the *faujdari* of Jinji to Rao Dalpat but the latter refused because of the dearth of adequate provisions. The fact that the Mughal army was facing acute problem of provision is also borne out by the statement of Bhimsen who comments that all the forts of the Deccan that had been annexed to the Mughal empire were without provisions and food[3] .

On arrival at court form Jinji Rao Dalpat was accused of being responsible for killing his own wife, the mother of Ram Chandra and taking the *pargana* of Iraj forcibly through his officers. These charges were imposed on Rao Dalpat on the basis of the reports sent to the Emperor by

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1 . *Dilkusha* p. 120a; *Masir-i-Almagiri*, p. 238. There were six hill forts, Rajgarh, Krishnagiri, Chimangarh, Chamar Tekri (joined together), Sholingwaram, and Kalakot. All these forts were collectively known as the forts of Jinji. These forts of Jinji were situated on a high hill and enjoyed greater fame and pre-eminance among the forts and places of Karanataka

2 . *Dilkusha*, p. 122b; *Masri-i-Alamgiri*, p. 238

3 . *Dilkusha*, 210 a; cf. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 238) wrongly mentions that after the conquest of Jinji Rao Dalpat was promoted to the rank of 3000/1500.

Khairandesh Khan, the Mughal *fuajdar* of Etawa and Iraj on the instigation of Rao Dalpat's son Ram Chandra who was at that time in rebellion. The Emperor was very doubtful about the involvement of Rao Dalpat in the incident. As a part of punishment against these charges Aurangzeb reduced the *mansab* of Rao Dalpat to 2,000/2,000. Rao Dalpat was very much depressed by the decision of Aurangzeb and strongly appealed Firoz Jang to intevene into the matter. Firoz Jang requested Aurangzeb to restore the *mansab* of Rao Dalpat but he Emperor refused to do so. However, Aurangzeb set up an inquiry under Itiqad Khan, son of Shaista Khan who was at that time the *Amin* of Agra. Itaiqad Khan investigated the matter thoroughly for several months and submitted his final report to the Emperor in which Rao Dalpat was exonerated of all the charges. Aurangzeb accepted the report and then only restored the *mansab* of Rao Dapat[1] .

The Maratha *Sardar,* Raja Ram established himself in Brahampuri and also consolidated his position considerably after his escape from Jinji in 1697. After the restoration of his *mansab* Rao Dalpat was again dispatched against Raja Ram in 1699. In several battles fought in and around Brahampuri between the imperial army and the Marathas Rao Dalpat credited himself in commanding the rear guard of the Mughal force together with leading the vanguard, which

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1 . *Dilkusha*, p. 126a-27b. Bhimsen has discussed the charges and its related developments in very detail. Here, we would like to mention the same in brief. Rao Dalpat also appointed his own officer Bhimsen as intermediary to persue the case positively. Bhimsen visited a number of officers and authorities who were expected to be interrogated and consulted by Itiqad Khan in course of the investigation. For this purpose he went to Burhanpur, Narwar, Sironj, Gwalior, Dholpur, Agra, Mathura, Datiya, Bhander and Iraj. He also heavly bribed the *peshkar* of Itiqad Khan for his help. Finally, Bhimsen succeeded in freeing his patron, Rao Dalpat from all the blames.

was placed under Daud Khan, simultaneously. The imperialists forced the Marathas to flee from Brahampuri[1] and take refuge in the fort of Panhala[2] . Rao Dalpat and other Mughal officers followed the enemy and after reaching Panhala they started besieging the fort. When the Maratha officers like Dhanaji and Ram Chandra Pandit became acquainted with that their *sardar* Raja Ram was in great trouble at Panhala they with a large army at their command came for his rescue. A fierce battle between the Marathas and the imperialist ensued at Panhala in which Rao Dalpat and his contingent distinguished themselves by putting about four hundred of the Maratha soldiers to death. Besides that meritorious service Rao Dalpat effectively commanded the rear guard as well as vanguard of the imperial army in the battle[3] . When the ability of Rao Dalpat to lead the vanguard was honestly reported to the Emperor the latter in 1700 appointed him to more prestigious position *ie.*, the commander of vanguard of the imperial army in place of his former position of rear guard. Rao Dalpat considered his appointment to lead the vanguard of the imperial army as a blessing of the Emperor. To please the Emperor more he recruited on his own expense a large number of troops from Bundelkhand[4] .

Despite the best efforts of Rao Dalpat, Firoz Jang and other Mughal Officers the siege of the fort of Panhala prologed. The Emperor was not satisfied with the progress at Panhala and therefore he decided to proceed there. Rao Dalpat was sent from Panhala to escort the Emperor. On

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1 . *Dilkusha*, p. 129 b.

2 . The fort of Panhala situated on the bank of Bhima was constructed by Firoz Shah Bahman.

3 . *Dilkusha*. p. 131 a.

4 . *Dilkusha*. pp. 134 C - 36 a. For more details about the conquest of Panhala by the Mughals see *Masir-i-Alampigir*, pp. 259-264

their way to Panhala the imperialists were attacked several times by the Marathas under Dhanaji and others. All the times the Marathas were badly defeated and the Emperor reached Panhala safely. Soon after the arrival of Aurangabad the fort of Panhala was conqered on 28th May 1701. The Emperor was very much impressed by the rare valour and exceptional contribution of Rao Dalpat during the entire period of the conquest of the fort. As a reward, he promoted Rao Dalpat to the rank of 3,000/2500[1]. Following the conquest of Panhala Rao Dalpat distinguished himself in several important battles fought against the Marathas for many successive days at Kularasgarh and Maloni[2] .

After the conquest of the fort of Panhala the Emperor started supervising the siege of the fort of Khelna in Nov. 1701. When the seige was in progress Aurangzeb appointed Rao Dalpat against Dhanaji who had strengthened his position at the fort of Kondana. Shortly after his arrival at Kondana Rao Dalpat fell ill and left the place for Supra for his treatment. After the recovery of his health he immediately returned to Kondana and resumed the seige of the fort afresh. Due to limited army he had at his disposal the fort could not be reduced. By this time June 1702 the fort of Khelna had been conquered by the Emperor[3] . Now in December 1602 Aurangzeb proceeded to the fort of Kondana which was being seiged by Rao Dalpat and other Mughal officers. After his arrival at Kondana the Emperor deputed Rao Dalpat from there to suppress the

1 . *Dilkusha.* p. 136 a.

2 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 136 b - 38 a.

3 . *Dilkusha*, p. 141a. for the graphic details of the seige and conquest of the fort of Khelna, see. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 267-72.

Marathas who taking the advantage of the absence of the Emperor from Aurangabad were plundering the city and its neighbouring areas. Rao Dalpat defeated them in several battles and compelled them to retreat from Aurangabad[1] .

Bhimsen has given the details about the battles which Rao Dalpat fought specially against the Marathas during the second half of year 1703. According to him, Rao Dalpat fought about nineteen battles and covered nearly thousand of Kos in persuit of the enemy within a period of six months and on all occasions he emerged victorious[2] . For these contributions the Emperor promoted him to the rank of 3,000/2700 in 1704[3] .

After his promotion Rao Dalpat who was at Aurangabad brought the provisions from there to the Emperor at Kher Kudus in Ahmadnagar. Little afterwards he was sent by Firoz Jang to Bijapur and Bhil Patta against the Marathas. Another Mughal officer Ram Singh Hadi was also directed to assist Rao Dalpat in his offensive against the enemy. After defeating the Marathas in various engagements in Bijapur he forced them to take flight. Rao Dalpat returned to Aurangabad from where the family of Prince Bidar Bakht was sent to Burhanpur under his security[4] .

The Emperor started besieging the fort of Wakinkhera the house of Pidia Berad in 1705. When Aurangzeb was hard pressed by the enemy he summoned Firoz Jang (Zulfiqar

1 . *Dilkusha.* p. 141 a - 44 b; *Masir-i-Alamgiri,* pp. 279-82.

2 . Ibid, p. 141 a.

3 . Ibid, p. 144; *Masir-ul-Umara, I. P. 444*

4 . *Dilkusha, p. 148 ab*

Khan) and other officers to join him immediately. Firoz Jang informed Rao Dalpat who had gone to Burhanpur to proceed from there at the earliest. After the arrival of these imperialists the position of Aurangzeb considerably strengthened. Bhimsen who was also present with Rao Dalpat has given in detail the tough resistance experienced by the imperial army. Bhimsen in the context of Rao Dalpat mentions that a large number of Bundela troops were mercilessly slain by the Berads. Not only this the elephant of Rao Dalpat alongwith armour clad-driver were seriously injured by the bullets and rockets discharged by the enemy. He further states "the cloth of the imperial flag was pierced into holes like crocodiles hide." But the Bundelas and the other imperialists continued their struggle with usual bravery. After a siege of four months (8th February 1705-27th April 1705) and a bither fighting during these period the fort of Wakinkhera was conquered by the imperialists[1] .

It also appears important to note that in spite of meritorious services rendered by Rao Dalpat during the entire period of the conquest of the fort of Wakinkhera he was not promoted or rewarded. From going through the details of Bhimsen it seems that the criteria for the position and promotion of a Mughal noble was not only his merits and outstanding deeds but it was also largely determined by the role played by the agents of respective nobles at the court. Bhimsen states that Rao Dalpat failed

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1 . *Dilkusha*, pp. 150a - 152 b, *Masir-i-Alamgiri* (pp. 296-300) also discusses the conquest of Wakinkhera in very detail

regularly to achieve his due rewards because of he fact that his achievements were not honestly reported to the Emperor[1] . *Masir-i-Alamgiri* adds that for the meritorious services of Rao Dalpat in the conquest of Wakinkhera his sons were rewarded by Aurangzeb[2] .

Being disappointed Rao Dalpat returned from the court and accompanied Firoz Jang against the Maratha chief, Kuna Sindhia who had captured the *parganas* of Ratanjam and Partul, 25 *kos* from Aurangabad[3] . But before the imperial army reached their destination the Marathas sought their safety in vacating these places. Rao Dalpat decided not to return back empty handed and because of such determination he persuaded the enemy by a rapid march and took them over at a village Panheri. He defeated the Marathas, imprisoned a large number of them and looted their camp. After this triumph Rao Dalpat returned to Aurangabad. The Emperor praised Rao Dalpat for his valour and promoted him to the rank of 3000/3000[4] .

Little after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 Rao Dalapt joined in Ahmadnagar the service of Prince Azam who was the choice of the Irani group of nobles to which Rao Dalpat also belonged[5]. The Prince promoted him to a very high *mansab* of 5000/5000. When the Prince left the Deccan for Agra to fight the war of succession he appointed Rao

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1 . *Dilkusha*. p. 153 b.

2 . *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 300. But it does not mention specifically the names of Rao Dalpat's sons or the types of rewards

3 . *Dilkusha*, p. 154 a.

4 . *Dilkusha* 157 b; *Masir-ul-Umara, I. p.* 444

5 . Op. Cit.

Dalpat to lead the vanguard of the army. The battle which ensued at Jagu near Agra between Prince Azam Shah and Azim-ush-shan, son of Bahadur Shah, Rao Dalpat was killed fighting bravely on 8th June 1707[1] .

The death of Rao Dalpat was followed by a war of succession among his four sons, Ram Chandra, Sarup Singh (holding a *mansab* of 1500) Bharti Chand (holding the rank of 500/200), and Prithvichand. Ram Chandra, the eldest one, defeated his younger brothers and occupied the *gaddi* of Datiya. Later on, he joined the service under emperor Bahadur Shah. The other sons of Rao Dalpat were also admitted to the Mughal service[2] .

1. *Masir-ul-Umara*, I. p. 444; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 201

2. *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 444.

CHAPTER IV
House of Chanderi

The history of Chanderi during Mughal period started with its conquest by emperor Babur in 1528 from Medini Rai. It remained a part of the Mughal empire till 1611 when it was granted to Ram Shah by emperor Jahangir as his hereditary *jagir*. From this time onwards the Bundelas of the family of Ram Shah ruled over this territory as their *watan*.[1]

(i) RAM SHAH (1592-1612)

Ram Shah was the eldest son of Madhukar Shah[2]. After the death of Madhukar Shah in 1592 Ram Shah submitted himself before Prince Murad with a large amount of booty and on the recommendation of the Prince emperor Akbar who was at that time at Srinagar[3] recognised Ram Shah as the Raja of Orchha. At the sametime Ram Shah entered the Mughal service with a *mansab* of 500 which was granted to him by Akbar[4]. But the appointment of Debi Singh as the Raja of Orchha was strongly resented by Bir Singh Deo, the younger brother of Ram Shah[5], who revolted and very shortly occupied a number of territories in the region of Bundelkhand.Emperor Akbar sent successive campaigns during years 1592-1605 under several Mughal officers and Ram Shah

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1. See the proceeding details.
2. See the family chart of the House of Orchha and Chanderi.
3. *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 606-6; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, II, p. 39 states that Ram Shah submitted before Akbar at Lahore.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 228; *Tuzuk*, p. 39; *Vigat*, II, pp. 490-2; *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, p. 151a.
5. *Bir Charitra*, p. 488. Madhuk Shah had many sons like Horal Deo, Pratap Rao, Ratan Singh and Ram Singh who held the *jagirs* of Pichhor, Kachhauwa, Baroni, Bhasneh (in Jhansi), Kuch Paharia, Gaur Jhaniar and Shirpur (in Gwalior) respectively.

to eliminate the rebel, but they failed to subdue Bir Singh Deo[1] completely.

After the death of emperor Akbar in 1605 his son and successor Jahangir soon after his accession dismissed Ram Shah and awarded the *gaddi* of Orchha to his favourite Bir Singh Deo. Naturally Ram Shah, his son Sangram Shah and grandson Bharat Shah strongly resented against this partition attitude of the Emperor and they rebelled. Jahangir tried to pacify them by offering some other small *jagirs* in the region of Bundelkhand wich they refused to accept and in defiance to the offer they occupied a number of *mahals* of imperial territory in the region.[2] The Emperor took a very serious view against such activities of Ram Shah and his family members and dispatched a large imperial army under Abdullah Khan and Bir Singh Deo to suppress the rebels. Ram Shah and his son Sangram Shah were defeated by the imperial army near Orchha and both of them were imprisoned. However Bharat Shah managed to escape and continued the struggle till 1611.[3]

Emperor Jahangir who wanted to have a friendly relation with the family of Ram Shah also released him alongwith his son Sangram Shah in 1611.[4] For soothing the relation further more the Emperor married the daugther of Ram Shah in the same year. This marriage of Jahangir with a Bundela princess is significant in the sense that it was the first and last materimonial relation established by the Mughals with the Bundelas. Besides that, Jahangir assigned Ram

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1. For details see chapther II (specially the account of Bir Singh Deo.)
2. See Chapter II.
3. *Tuzuk*, pp. 82;.
4. Ibid, p. 111; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 194.

Shah the large territory of Chanderi including Banapur and recognised him its hereditary Raja. These favourable offers and the lenient view of the Emperor with Ram Shah forced Bharat Shah who had been in rebellion since the dismissal of his grandfather to submit before Jahangir in 1612. Ram Shah died in the following year (1612).

(ii) BHARAT SHAH (1612-1634)

Bharat Shah succeeded his grandfather Ram Shah as the Raja of Chanderi in 1612. Emperor Jahangir granted Bharat Shah the customary *tika* and also awarded him the title of Raja.[1]

Seven years after the accession of Bharat Shah the Emperor admitted him to the Mughal service in 1619 when he was granted the *mansab* of 600/400.[2] Shortly after his admission Bharat Shah was appointed to serve in the Deccan under Prince Khurram when in 1620 the Prince was sent against Malik Amber. Bharat Shah showed rare valour in the battle of Belapur which was fought between Malik Amber and imperialists and killed large number of the Deccanis. Malik Amber was hard pressured by the imperialists and lastly agreed in 1621 to return Ahmadnagar, Berar and Balapur to the Mughals. The services of Bharat Shah in making the campaign complete success was very much recognised by the Emperor who promoted him to the rank of 1500/1000.[3]

Emperor Jahangir in his last years promoted Bharat Shah to the rank of 3000/2000[4] and dispatched him against

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1 . *Tuzuk*, pp. 82, 231.

2 . Ibid, II, p. 88.

3 . *Tuzuk*, II, pp. 250-53; *Umra-i-Hunud*, p. 100.

4 . Lahori, I, p. 120; *Umra-i-Hunud*, p. 100.

Mahabat Khan who had rebelled by imprisoning Jahangir on 21st March 1627. Bharat Shah hotly persued the rebel and forced him to leave Jaisalmer and take refuge at Junair where Prince Shahjahan was also passing his days as a rebel.[1] A little after that the Emperor died and Bharat Shah who was at Ajmer proceeded from there and paid his submission to emperor Shahjahan. After his visit to court the Emperor promoted Bharat Shah to the rank of 3000/2500 and a robe of honour was also granted to him.[2] At the same time, Shahjahan appointed him as the *faujdar* of Itawah.[3] Shortly afterwards for his success in establishing complete law and order in the area Bharat Shah was twice rewarded *khilat* by the Emperor.[4]

The favourable attitude of Shahjahan towards Bharat Shah was due to the fact that the Emperor broadly followed the policy of his father Jahangir as far as Bundelas were concerned. The other reason for establishing friendly relation with other Bundelas in general was because of the flight of Jujhar Singh from the court at the time of the accession of Shahjahan.

As mentioned, Jujhar Singh rebelled in 1628 and a large imperial army was sent against him.[5] Bharat Shah with his entire contingent joined Khan-i-Jahan *Lodi* at Chanderi who was proceeding against the rebel. But due to early

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1 . *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir*, pp. 270-71; Lahori, I, p. 82; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, II, pp. 141-42; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 408. For a full length discussion on the rebellion of Mahabat Khan and aftermath see, *Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir*.

2 . Qazwini, pt. (a), p. 129; Lahori, I, pp. 120-21; *Amal-i-salih*, I, p. 204; Inayat Khan, p. 19; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 408.

3 . Lahori, I, p. 191; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 216.

4 . *Ibid*, pp. 229-30.

5 . See chapter II, Part 'A'.

submission of Jujhar Singh to the Emperor Bharat Shah returned from Narwar without commencing his offensive against the rebel.[1]

Bharat Shah after his return from Narwar was allowed by the Emperor to go to Chanderi while Khan-i-Jahan *Lodi* went to court at Agra. But due to suspicion Khan-i-Jahan *Lodi* rebelled and took refuge at the court of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Bharat Shah was immediately recalled from Chanderi and appointed against the rebel under Raja Gaj Singh.[2] Khan-i-Jahan *Lodi* was so har pressed by Bharat Shah and other imperialists that he left the Deccan and proceeded towards Kalpi. The rebel was hotly perued by Bharat Shah who killed a large number of the followers of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. As a result of the death of several faithful officers of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi the military strength of the rebel was considerably weakened and ultimately he was defeated and killed.[3] For the meritorious service rendered by Bharat Shah in the suprression of the revolt of a most influencial and senior noble of the empire Shahjahan promoted him to the rank of 3000/3000 in 1631.[4]

While discussing the conquest of the fort of Qandhar[5] in the Deccan the official historians of Shahjahan Qazwini as well as Lahori both of them have greatly praised the role and contribution of Bharat Shah in the conquest of the

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1 . Qazwini, pt. (b), p. 169; Lahori, I, pp. 241-2; *Amal-i-Salih,* I, p. 243.

2 . Ibid.; *Zakhirat-ul-khwani,* II, pp. 99-101. The other important nobles who were sent against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi were Nasiri Khan, Bahadur Khan Rohilla, Sardar Khan and Raja Bithal Das.

3 . Lahori, I, pp. 349-51; For a detailed biography see *Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir,* chapter, VII.

4 . Lahori, I, pp. 349-51.

5 . Qandhar was situated about seventy miles east of Dharur and twenty five miles south west of Nander in the region of Telingana.

fort. In a sepcial reference to Bharat Shah they mention that he guarded the trenches which were located to the opposite to the main gate way of the fort under discussion so effectively for more than four months that during the entire period of the seige no enforcement to the beseiged was possible. It led to the acute shortage of the provision in the fort and the garrison was reduced to such an extremity that the *quiledar* Sadiq Khan requested Bharat Shah to intercede on his behalf for a peaceful settlement. On the intervention of Bharat Shah a treaty between Sadiq Khan and the imperialists was finalised according to which the former surrendered the fort to the Mughals in May 1631.[1] After the conquest of the fort of Qandhar situated in the region of Telingana Bharat Shah was promoted to the *mansab* of 3500/3000.[2]

The services rendered by Bharat Shah in course of the conquest of the fort of Qandhar in the region of Telingana was so much appreciated by Shahjahan that in the following year (1632) the Emperor placed the region in charge of Bharat Shah. During his stay in Telingana Bhart Shah brought the territories of several neighbouring refractory *Zamindars* under the Mughal control. For example, Bharat Shah conquered the fort of Dilkur[3] from Bola and Sayyidi Muftal who were the tributory chiefs of the Deccani ruler. Lahori specifically mentions that these chiefs were attacked by Bharat Shah so susprisingly that they were not in a position to carry their families alongwith them which besides a large booty were imprisoned by Bharat Shah.[4] The

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1 . Qazwini, pt. (b), pp. 228-29; Lahori, I, pp. 374-77; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, pp. 331-34, 350.

2 . Lahori, I, p. 397; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 408.

3 . In *Amal-i-Salih* and *Masir-ul-Umara* the fort is variably refered to as Dighir and Dilkur.

4 . Lahori, I, p. 354; *Amal-i-Salih*, I, p. 467; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 408.

conquest of the fort of Dilkur by Bharat Shah without any reinforcement was considered by Shahjahan as a matter of proud. Therefore, the Emperor promoted him to the rank of 4000/3500[1] and left the region under the security of Bharat Shah. Bharat Shah successfully continued to keep the region under the Mughal control till his death in 1634.[2]

(iii) DEBI SINGH

Following the death of Bharat Shah in 1634 his son Debi Singh ascended the throne of Chanderi. The Emperor awarded Debi Singh the *tika,* title of Raja and a *mansab* of 2000/2000.[3] But shortly after that Debi Singh was again promoted to the rank of 2500/200 mainly because of the second rebellion of Jujhar singh in 1635.[4] As stated the Mughal rulers taking their advantage of the internal rivalry among the Bundela chiefs utilised the services against the chiefs of the same clan. Because of this we see that a number of brothers of Jujhar Singh and the Bundelas of Chanderi were used by Shahjahan for the suppression of the rebellions of several Bundelas. And when Jujhar singh rebelled in 1635 for the second time the Emperor appointed Debi Singh against the rebel. As discussed earlier that an anmity developed between the families of Ram Shah and Bir Singh Deo as easly as in 1592 and in 1605 Jahangir dismissed Ram Shah from the *gaddi* of Orchha and in his place appointed Bir Singh Deo, the father of Jujhar singh. Debi Singh considered his

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1 28. Ibid., p. 542.

2 . Ibid, I (b), p. 296; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, II, p. 370.

3 . Lahori, I, pt. (b), pp. 13-14; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, p. 371.

4 . Lahori, I, pt (b), p. 72.

appointment against Jujhar Singh as best opportunity to take the revenge against the rebel.[1] In that campaign Debi Singh was given te charge of commanding the advance guard of the division of the imperial army under Khan-i-Dauran. Due to dense forest and frequent attacks of the followers of Jujhar Singh they reached kamharwali, about one *kos* from the fort of Orchha with great difficulty. The Bundela troops posted there by Jujhar Singh were attacked and after a fierce battle the fort of kamharwali, an outer fort of Orchha, was conquered by Debi Singh.[2] After the fall of kamharwali Jujhar Singh left Orchha leaving there some faithful officers to guard the fort. But in spite of the strong resistance offered by the army of Jujhar Singh the fort of Orchha was also captured by Debi Singh and Khan Dauran.[3] Shahjahn appointed Debi Singh as the Raja of Orchha and its dependencies. He was also promoted to the rank of 3000/3000.[4] Thus Orchha again passed into the hands of Ram Shah's family. Debi Singh was ordered to stay there with his contingent to restore law and order.[5] Shortly afterwards Jujhar Singh was completely defeated and killed. It is quite significant to note that Debi Singh not only succeeded in restoring law and order in the region but no opposition at this stage was made by any section of the Bundelas to his assumption to the *gaddi* of Orchha. Debi Singh stayed at Orchha for few months when he was appointed to the Deccan to assist Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan

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1 . Qazwini, pt. (c), p. 351; Lahori, I, pt. (b), pp. 96-7; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 85; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 471.

2 . Qazwini, p. 351; Lahori, pp. 106-7; *Amal-i-Salih*, pp. 86-87.

3 . Qazwini, pt. (c), p. 345; Lahori, I, pt. (b), pp. 107-8.

4 . Ibid.; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 82. cf. K. K. Trivedi 'Rajput clas in the Mughal Nobility—The Bundela case,' *IHC* 1977, p. 154.

5 . Qazwini, p. 345; Lahori, p. 143; Inayat Khan, p. 156; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 472.

Barha in his campaign against Nizamul Mulk and Adil Shah. In the campaign against the Deccani Debi Singh alongwith his Bundela contingent fought bravely and captured the forts of Savadhun, Dharaseo and Kanti from the Bijapuris. The imperial army also forced Shahuji to accept the sovereignty of the Mughals.[1] Over all the campaign of 1636 in the Deccan was quite successful and almost all the Mughal commanders including Debi Singh were rewarded by the Emperor after their arrival at the court.[2]

As mentioned, although Debi Singh succeeded in establishing law and order in the region of Orchha and in the very beginning no resentment appeared against his appointment but when he returned to Orchha from the Deccan the Bundelas under the leadership of Champat Rai rose against him. The reasons for their resentment was that Debi Singh did not belong to the family of Bir Singh Deo or Jujhar Singh. According to *Chhatra Prakash* the basic ground for their opposition against Debi Singh was that he had played very crucial role in the suppression of Jujhar Singh and his family members and that they considered him responsible for the destruction of Orchha and other places. The Bundelas now declared Prithiraj, the only surviving son of Jujhar Singh, as the real claimant to the *gaddi* of Orchha.The Budelas of Orchha were not ready to accept Debi Singh as their head whom they regarded as the traitor to the cause of their clan. Debi Singh completely failed to win his opponents or suppress them. The Bundela resentment was so strong that law and order was again disturbed completely and Debi Singh was not in a position

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1. Qazwini, p. 374; Lahori, pp. 155, 158, Inayat Khan, pp. 167-68, 180-82, 184-88.

2. Qazwini, pt. (c), p. 374; Lahori. I (b), pp. 158-9; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 172; *Umrari-Hunud*, p. 195.

to stay at Orchha any longer.[1] In such a state of chaos and turmoil he left Orchha and returned to his *watan* of Chanderi in 1637. Shahjahan was very unhappy over the above development and therefore he reduced the *mansab* of Debi Singh to 2500/2000.[2]

Besides reducing the *mansab* of Debi Singh Shahjahan took another harsh decision and converted the entire kingdom of Orchha to the Mughal empire and appointed the imperial officers in the region to maintain law and order.[3] But still the Bundela revolts continued. After five years in 1642 on the advice of the senior nobles the Emperor recognised Pahar Singh, son of Bir Singh Deo as the Raja of Orchha.[4]

For about nine years (1637-46) no important charge was given to Debi Singh by Shahjahan apparantely because of his failure against the Bundelas of Orchha. In 1646 (by this time the revolt of the Bundelas of Orcha was almost over because of the joining of Champat Rai to Mughal service) Debi Singh was appointed to the campaign of Balkh and Badakshan under Prince Murad. Lahori mentions that 460 nobles and *mansabdars* were sent to that campaign. But he has given the names of few of them only who played important role during this expedition. Among the names of such nobles the name of Debi Singh dominates. He states that Debi Singh rendered meritorious services in the conquest of the fort of Kahmard. Shortly after its fall Debi Singh was dispatched by the Prince to assist the

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 26.

2 . Lahori, I (b), p. 300.

3 . Qazwini, pt. (c), p. 410; Lahori, I, (b), pp. 270-71; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 188.

4 . For details see chapter II (account of Pahar Singh).

imperialists who with a limited army at their disposal were besieging the fort of Ghauri. The arrival of Debi Singh considerably strengthened the position of imperial army and the fort was very shortly brought under Mughal control and then after he returned to Balkh.[1]

Prince Murad was recalled from Central Asia and in his place Sadullah Khan was sent by Shahjahan. By the time Sadullah Khan reached Balkh the Almans had reocuppied Badakshan from the Mughal officers. When the new Mughal commander came to know of this he immediately dispatched Debi Singh with a large army to Badakshan to retrive the Mughal position in the region. A fierce battle between Debi Singh and the Almans ensued at Ankud in which the former besides killing a large number of Almans defeated them completely. After washing the region off from the enemies and establishing law and order properly Debi Singh returned from Badakshan to assist Jabbar Quli, the Mughal *quiledar* of the fort of Shibaragaon, who was being hard pressed by the enemy. Debi Singh inflicted a crushing defeat to the Almans and forced them to retreat. On his way back to Balkh from Shibargaon Debi Singh defeated the Almans who attacked him at Shabram and Sharpal. But in spite of the best efforts of the Mughals their success in Balkh and Badakshan proved short lived.[2]

Debi Singh was appointed to all the three campaigns sent by Shahjahan to recover Qandhar from the Persians. In the first campaign of 1649 which was sent under Prince Aurangzeb Debi Singh was given the charge to protect the imperial camp. He defeated the Quizilbashis several times

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1 . Lahori, II, pt. (I), pp. 484-85, 523-25, 553-56; Inayat Khan, pp. 335-37, 340-44.

2 . Lahori, II, pt.,, 563-65, 580-82; Inayat Khan, 359-72, 368-72.

in their attempts to plunder the Mughal camp. But in spite of a long seige of eight months the fort could not be brought under imperial control. Prince Aurangzeb alongwith Debi Singh were recalled.[1] During the second and third expedition to Qandhar sent in years 1653 and 1654 respectively under Prince Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh Debi Singh accompanied both the princes and rendered meritorious service in course of a number of battles fought between the Mughals and Persians. But after the failure of the campaign the entire imperial army was finally recalled.[2]

By his distinguished services in Balkh, Badakshan and Qandhar campaigns Debi Singh was able to substantially regain his position at the Mughal court. After his return from Qandhar he was appointed as the *faujdar* of Bhilsa in Malwa to watch the moment of Champat Rai who had revolted against the imperial authority. Two years after this appointment Debi Singh in 1654 was again deputed to serve in the Deccan under Prince Aurangzeb.[3]

When the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan broke out Debi Singh who was then in the Deccan immediately proceeded from there and arrived at the court and little afterwards appointed against Prince Aurangzeb under Maharaja Jaswant Singh. At the time of the battle of Dharmat the Maharaja left the imperial camp with a reserve force of 9000 cavalry under the charge of Debi Singh with specific instruction to come for rescue in times of urgent

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1 . Waris, pp. 20, 23, 27, 34; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, I, pp. 684-86; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 472.

2 . Ibid;, pp. 60 a-65 b; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 472.

3 . *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 472; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 195.

need.[1] But when the battle of Dharmat was in progress the camp under discussion was suddenly attacked by a well equipped and large army of Prince Murad. At the same time Maharaja Jaswant Singh was also losing his ground in the battle and therefore he was not in a position to send any reinforcement for the rescue of Debi Singh. The result was that the reserve force stationed at the imperial camp was completely defeated by Prince Murad. Debi Singh after realising the situation very carefully surrendered before the Prince and joined his service.[2] Afterwards Debi Singh fought the battle of Samugarh against Prince Dara on the side of Prince Murad. But like other officers of Prince Murad Debi Singh also who was alongwith the Prince did not express his resentment when the Prince was trecheously imprisoned by Aurangzeb at Mathura in 1658 apparantely because Aurangzeb had won Debi Singh and other by attractive offers and promises.[3]

After the imprisonment of Prince Murad Debi Singh joined the service of Aurangzeb and accompanied him to Multan in the persuit of Prince Dara Shikoh. When Aurangzeb reached Multan he came to know of the rapid advance of Prince Shuja from the east towards Agra.[4] At this juncture emperor Aurangzeb decided not to go further in persuit of Dara but to deal with Shah Shuja first. Therefore, he ordered his several officers to keep the persuit continue while he himself alongwith Debi Singh returned from Multan to Delhi where he promoted Debi Singh to the rank of 2500/2000 (500 *du aspa-sih aspa*).[5]

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1 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, p. 66; *Gwalior Nama*, of Hiraman, pp. 27-28; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 3-4.

2 . Waris, p 261b; *Alamgir Nama*, pp. 66, 74, 75; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, pp. 14-17; *Amal-i-Salih*, III, p. 457; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 196.

3 . *Alamgir Nama*, pp. 139-40.

4 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, p. 208.

5 . *Alamgir Nama*, pp. 206-7; *Masir-ul=Umara*, p. 472.

Without wasting time Aurangzeb alongwith Debi Singh left Delhi against Prince Shah Shuja who had then reached beyond Allahabad. Debi Singh performed outstanding services in the battle of Khajwa. After the complete defeat of Shah Shuja and his flight towards Bengal Debi Singh was appointed under Prince Muhammad, son of emperor Aurangzeb to persue the Prince. Debi singh defeated several divisions of the army of Prince Shuja in Bengal.[1] After Shah Shuja was fully suppressed Debi Singh was recalled to court and was dispatched against Dara Shikoh who was advancing towards Ajmer. In the battle of Deorari which was fought between the armies of Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh, Debi Singh showed rare valour in the battle against Dara Shikoh.[2] After the defeat and arrest of Dara Shikoh Debi, Debi Singh was ordered to take his earlier charge of *faujdar* of Bhilsa.[3]

After the elimination of his rival brothers emperor Aurangzeb took serious note against those chiefs who taking the advantage of the political disturbances which prevailed in the Mughal empire during the war of succession had revolted against the imperial authority. Raja Karan Bhortia was one of such chiefs. In 1660, the Emperor appointed Debi Singh alongwith Amir Khan again the refractory chief Raja Karan who was defeated and forced to pay heavy amount of tribute and accept the overlordship of the Mughals. Aurangzeb rewarded Debi Singh a robe of honour for his success against Raja Karan.[4]

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1 . Ibid., pp. 247-49; *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* of Razi, MS., pp. 123-30.

2 . Ibid., p. 341; *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 472.

3 . Ibid., p. 346.

4 . Ibid., p. 572.

The other chief who had revolted during the war of succession was Champat Rai of Mahewa. Although the Emperor had earlier sent Rao Subhkaran in 1659 against Champat Rai he could not suppress the rebel.[1] Therefore, Aurangzeb appointed Debi singh against Champat Rai in 1661. The *jagirdars* of Malwa and the Mughal officers appointed in the region of Bundelkhand were also ordered to extend their full cooperation to Debi Singh in the suppression of Champat Rai. Debi Singh very shortly succeeded in creating a discord among the staunch supporters and clansmen of Champat thus weakening the position of the rebel considerably.[2] For the sake of their own interest a large number of the followers of Champat Rai joined the imperial service. The rebel was now forced to take shelter in the territory of Dhandera cheif where he was later on killed by some Dhanderas who were loyal to the Mughal authority.[3] for eliminating Champat Rai Debi Singh was rewarded with robe of honour by the Emperor and due to the death of Champat Rai he was now transferred from Bhilsa to Tarhar as the *faujdar* of the place.[4]

During his stay at Tarhar Debi Singh in 1667 was sent from there to assist Shamsher Khan who had been appointed to suppress the Yusuf Zais (the Pathans). Debi Singh after suppressing the rebellion of Yusuf Zais returned to court where he was given a *khilat* by Aurangzeb.[5]

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1 . See the account of Rao Subhkaran.

2 . *Alamgir Nama*, I pp. 631-32; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 128. cf. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 47.

3 . *Alamgir Nama*, p. 635.

4 . Ibid., p. 758.

5 . Ibid., II, pp. 1045, 1054-57.

Shortly after the suppression of Yusuf Zais, Debi Singh in 1670 was appointed to assist Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of the *suba* kabul. But the imperial army alongwith Debi Singh were defeated several times by the enemy. Very shortly after his defeat in Kabul Debi Singh was recalled[1] and after four years in 1674, he was transferred from Tarhar and appointed as the *taluqdar* of Malhar or Baghlana in Aurangzeb where he stayed for a long time.[2]

Debi Singh played very important role during the rebellion of Prince Akbar, son of emperor Aurangzeb, when the Prince rebelled in 1681 and fled towards the Deccan to take shelter at the court of Sambhaji, the Maratha *sardar*. A large number of his Rajput followers of the Prince were killed by Debi Singh while passing through Baghlana. But the Prince managed to escape.[3]

Debi Singh continued to serve in the Deccan for a long time. During his stay he founded a purah (quarter) in the western-southern part of Aurangzeb.[4]

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1 . *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 104-5; *Masir-ul-Umara*, 472.

2 . *Dilkusha*, p.

3 . *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 277.

4 . *Masir-ul-Umara*, p. 472; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 196.

CHAPTER V
House of Mahewa/Panna

The history of Mahewa,[1] a principality under the kingdom of Orchha, begins from 1531 when Udaijit[2] was assigned this tract of land as his *jagir* by his father, Rudra Pratap, the founder of Orchha town, the seat of the Bundelas.[3] Bhagwat Rai, son of Premchand and grandson of Udaijit was the first important chief of this house. He made Mahewa as his capital and also succeeded in annexing some parts of Dangiya kingdom[4] comprising the eastern parts of Bundelkhand.[5] The study of this house becomes more important under its famous *sardars* like Champat Rai and his son Chhatrasal respectively. They served under different Mughal emperors as nobles but most of times they continued challenging the imperial authority.[6]

(i) CHAMPAT RAI (1592-1661)

Champat Rai who witnessed the reigns of first four great Mughal rulers–Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, was the fourth son of Bhagwat Rai.[7] He was born at village Periyar, about five miles south of Mahewa, but very little information is available to us about his early life.[8]

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1. Mahewa, 23 mile S. E. of Orchha. Udaijit appropriated the surviving buildings of a nearby town called Patan to his territory of Mahewa. For details see, *The later Mughals*, p. 219.
2. See, the family chart of the House of Mahewa.
3. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 13.
4. The eastern half of Bundelkhand came under the control of the Bundelas during the period of Madhukar Shah and specially in the time of Bir Singh Deo. This tract of land was formely known as *Dangiya Raj* and its rulers were called as the Dangiya Rajas. The capital of the Bundelas named Orchha was situated on the western side of Mahewa or Dangiya Raj. The Bundela *sardars* of Mahewa who owed their allegiense to the Rajas of Orchha extended their territorial boundaries in those neighbouring principalities which were weak as well as not in subordination to the Rajas of Orchha. See. *Bundelkhand Gazetteer*, pp. 371-72; *The later Mughals*, p. 219.
5. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 14-15.
6. See, the proceeding details.
7. Op. cit. Also see, the family chart.
8. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 13.

We get first reference of Champat Rai in the time of Bir Singh Deo when the latter revolted against emperor Akbar in 1592.[1] Champat Rai like many other *Zamindars* of Bundelkhand served Bir Singh Deo with complete loyalty during the entire period of his rebellion from 1592 to 1605. When Bir Singh Deo left Allahabad to kill Abul Fazl in 1602 Champat Rai accompanied him and showed rare valour in fighting and killing a number of followers of Abul Fazl. After the assassination of the latter at Antri Champat Rai was sent by Bir Singh Deo to Prince Salim who was at Allahabad alongwith the severed head of Abul Fazl. Champat Rai was awarded a robe of honour by the prince when he presented it to him. Afterwards he returned to Bir Singh Deo at Baroni and continued to serve him till his death in 1627.[2]

After the death of Bir Singh Deo, Champat Rai joined Jujhar Singh, the son and successor of Bir Singh Deo and served him for serveral years. On the eve of the second rebellion of Jujhar Singh in 1635, Champat Rai successfully united the local *Zamindars* and brought them under Jujhar Singh; although they were repulsed by the imperialists.[3] He also advised Jujhar Singh to attack imperial army before they combined together and launch an offensive on Bundelkhand, but Jujhar Singh refused to do so. When the negotiation for peace started with imperialist Champat Rai was one of those who strongly opposed any settlement.[4] However against his advice negotiation started but the conditions for peace put

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1. For more details see the account of Bir Singh Deo of Orchha, specially his rebellion.
2. *Bir Charitra*, pp. 495-510.
3. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 17.
4. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 17.

forward by Shahjahan were so harsh that no settlement could be made and a clash became inevitable.[1] Champat Rai accompanied Jujhar Singh when the latter left Orchha after the conquest of Kamharwali by the imperialists; and with the fall of Dhamoni Jujhar Singh's ruin became certain. Jujhar Singh now fled to the Deccan but he was killed by the Gonds on the way in 1635. Finding his position insecure Champat Rai alongwith Pirathvi Raj, the youngest son of Jujhar Singh, deserted his master and took shelter in the forest of Bundelkhand.[2]

The assassination of Jujhar Singh and the appointment of Debi Singh of Chanderi, another line of Bundelas, in the place of deceased as the *Raja* of Orchha further aggrivated the Bundela problem because the latter was not the son and successor of Jujhar Singh.[3] Champat Rai within a very short period succeeded in uniting the staunch supporters of Jujhar Singh and demanded that the throne of Orchha be restored to Pirthvi Raj the only surviving son and successor of Jujhar Singh. Besides being of different line of rulers, as mentioned above the basic cause of their resentment and harden attitude towards Debi Singh was his destructive role during the rebellion of Jujhar Singh.[4] The pressure of the Bundela opposition was so strong that Debi Singh was unable to maintain himself at Orchha for long and as a result of his failure to win them over he was deposed as the ruler of Orchha after a rule of only two years in 1637. Thus emperor Shahjahan's attempt to

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1. Qazwini, pt. c. pp. 344-45; Lahori, I, b, pp. 98-100; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, pp. 82-83; Inayat Khan, p-150.
2. For details see Jujhar Singh's second rebellion.
3. See, Debi Singh's account (House of Chanderi).
4. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 17. For more details and the role of Debi Singh during the second rebellion of Jujhar Singh see his account (House of Chanderi)

enthrone a loyal Bundela chief at Orchha who could also be acceptable to Bundelas failed miserably. But after the dethronment of Debi Singh, the Emperor took another strong step; the entire kingdom of Orchha was annexed in the Mughal empire and brought under *Khalsa* and Baqi Khan was appointed as the *faujdar* of the region.[1]

'In spite of the removal of Debi Singh from the *gaddi* of Orchha and appointment of royal officers in the territory the rebellion under Champat Rai continued to gain wide support. They strongly resented the annexation of Orchha and now they demanded the recognision of Pirthviraj as the successor to the throne. Champat Rai and his followers harassed the Mughal officers posted in the region by regular attacks taking advantage of the difficult terrain. Besides that they also started suppressing the peasantry by destroying agriculture and plundering their properties. Because of that it became difficult for the Mughal officers to collect land revenue.[2] Taking advantage of the rebellions of Bundelas the chief of Antri, Iraj and Bhander stopped paying taxes to the imperial government. From the *arzdasht* of Khan-i-Jahan Barha whose *Jagir* was in Bundelkhand and from the reports of the representatives of Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang it is evident that due to the uprising of the Bundelas the collection of land revenue in the region was not possible.[3]

The failure of the local imperial officers to suppress the rebels and to protect the peasantry which had led to substantial loss of revenue, Shahjahan appointed Khan

1. Qazwinim, pt. C, p. 410; Lahori, I (b), pp. 270-71; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 188.
2. Qazwini, pt. c, p. 410; Lahori, I (b), p. 271; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 188.
3. *Arzdasht* of Muzaffar Barha in *Gwaliornama*, p. 3a-b.

Dauran,[1] the *subedar* of Malwa, to punish the rebels and restore peace and order in the area. But it is significant to note that none of the contemporary source mentions about his activities in the region in the suppression of the revolt. From the evidence it appears that the operation led by him and Baqi Khan completely failed and Champat Rai emerged much more powerful.[2] As a matter of fact, taking advantage of the preoccupation of emperor Shahjahan with the problems of Kabul and Qandhar Champat Rai in 1639 plundered the Mughal territories like Sironj, Bhelsa, Ujjain, Dhamuni and Gwalior and amassed large wealth from these places. The local imperial officers again failed in checking his inroads.[3]

After the return of imperial army from Kabul and Qandhar in 1640 Shahjahan took the rebellious activities of Champat Rai seriously afresh. He removed Baqi Khan who was posted at Islamabad (Jathara) because of his complete failure in quelling the revolt of Champat Rai. Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang who had played an important role in suppressing the revolt of Jujhar Singh in 1635 was now appointed *Jagirdar* of Islamabad with the specific instruction to eliminate the rebel.[4] However, on the arrival of Abdullah Khan to Islamabad, Baqi Khan requested him to give him one more chance to lead the campaign against Champat Rai who was reported to be in the vicinity

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1 · The appointment of Khan-i-Dauran against Champat Rai was mainly due to two important reasons. The first cause was that *suba* of Malwa was adjacent to Bundelkhand. The second factor was that he had played significant role against the Bundelas in 1635. Also see, the account of Jujhar Singh.

2 · Qazwini, pt. c; pp. 410-11; Lahori, I (b), pp. 271-72; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 189.

3 · *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 20-21; Lahori, II, pt. I, p. 27 does not refer to the attack and plunder of places mentioned above.

4 · Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 136-37; *Chhatra Prakash* (p. 23) however does not mention the specific instruction of Shahjahan to Abdullah Khan about the elimination of Champat Rai and other rebels.

of Jhansi. Baqi Khan with a large imperial army surprised the rebel by a sudden attack somewhere between Orchha and Jhansi. A hotly contested battle was fought in which a large number of Bundelas were killed. Pirthvi Raj was made prisoner and lateron confined in the fort of Qwalior where he died in captivity, but the main instigator of the revolt, Champat Rai managed to escape from the battle-field. The imperialist continued to pursue their offensive and very shortly they again attacked the rebel at Khailhar in which the eldest son of Champat Rai, Sarvahan was slain.[1] However the Emperor was not satisfied with the progress of the campaign mainly because Champat Rai could not be captured; therefore, Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang was recalled from Islamabad in 1640.[2]

The task of eliminating Champat Rai and his brother Sujan Rai was now entrusted to Bahadur Khan Rohilla. But before Bahadur Khan could reach Islamabad and mobilize his armies the rebels disrupted the lines of communication between Agra and Malwa by surprise attacks on Mughal outposts, ravaging the crown lands and driving off the cultivators of the region. However, Bahadur Khan after making full arrangments made successive attacks on the rebels during 1641-2 but he also failed to suppress the rebellion completely and Champat Rai continued to defy the imperial authority.[3]

According to *Chhatra Prakash* after the failure of the campaign of Bahadur Khan, Debi Singh requested Emperor Shahjahan to reappoint him as the ruler of Orchha. Keeping

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1. Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 193-94; *Masirul-Umara*, I, p. 420; cf. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 23-24.
2. Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 193-94; *Masir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 420; *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 23-24.
3. Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 221-247; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 24. For a detailed account of Bahadur Khan see, *Masir-ul-Umara*, IV, p. 127.

in mind the failure of Debi Singh to win the support of Bundela chiefs during 1635-37 the Emperor refused to accept his proposal.[1] But, at the same time, Shahjahan was greatly concerned with successive failure of about four campaigns led by reputed Mughal commanders like Baqi Khan, Khan Dauran, Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang and Bahadur Khan. It seems, Shahjahan was convinced that the rebels could not be crushed easily only by military power. *Chhatra Prakash* specifically mentions that on the request and suggestions of some of his senior nobles on the 4th June, 1642 the Emperor finally restored the *gaddi* of Orchha to Pahar Singh, son of Bir Singh Deo and also a loyal feudatory Bundela chief.[2] Champat Rai who was fighting for the cause of Bir Singh Deo's family and because of this reason he had mustered the support of the Bundelas, however, realised it impolitic and unworthy of himself to appose the appointment of Pahar Singh as the *Raja* of Orchha when the latter reached at Islamabad with a large army. Therefore, Champat Rai submitted himself before Pahar Singh and also joined the service under him. His offences were consequently pardoned by Shahjahan.[3]

However, the relation between Pahar Singh and Champat Rai did not proceed smoothly for long. After serving Pahar Singh for few months Champat Rai left him[4] and joined service under Prince Dara Shikoh sometimes after 1642.[5] In

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 25-26. No other source mentions the request of Debi Singh for the reappointment as the raja of Orchha.

2 . Lahori, II, pt. I, pp. 284; 303-4; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 471; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 27.

3 . For a detailed discussion on the causes which forced Champat Rai to surrender before Pahar Singh without fighting see, the account of Pahar Singh.

4 . Why Pahar Singh became jealous of the position and popularity of Champat Rai and how the former tried to get rid of the latter for these, see the account of Pahar Singh.

5 . Lahori, II, pt. I, p. 303; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 510; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 30 adds that Champat Rai joined the service under the Prince on the suggestion of his mother.

1644 Champat played an important role in the reduction of Palamun.[1] He also accompanied Prince Dara Shikoh for the recoquest of Qandhar in April, 1653.[2] Although the campaign proved an utter failure but Champat Rai was awarded a *mansab* of 500/500 by the Emperor as a reward for his good performance in course of the seige of the fort.[3] Beside that, he was also assigned the *jagir* of Konch, a very fertile tract of land yeilding three lakhs. Pahar Singh was greatly annoyed at the decision of the Emperor and to counter it he presented a gift of nine lakhs of rupees to Prince Dara and succeeded in getting the same *jagir* for himself. The decision of the Prince greatly aggrieved Champat Rai who left the court and returned to Mahewa and resumed his rebellious activities after serving the Mughals loyally for about twelve years (1642-1653).[4]

During the war of succession (1657-59) when Prince Aurangzeb proceeded from Dharmat to Samugarh and reached Gwalior he found all the routes to Dholpur, situated on the bank of river Chambal, strongly defended by imperial army.[5] But in the meantime Prince Aurangzeb came to know from the local *zamindars* of the area that Champat Rai, who was in rebellion and passing his days in the neighbourhood of Mahewa, was in a position to help the prince to locate some safe ferries from where the river of Chambal might be

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1 . Lahori, II. pt. I, p. 304; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 50.

2 . Lahori, II, pt. I. 357-58. *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 50; Lal Kavi (Chhatra Prakash p. 31) wrongly mentions that the campaign to Qandhar under Prince Dara proved a grand success and the fort was finally occupied by the imperial army.

3 . Waris, p. 269 (b); *Amal-i-Salih*, III, p. 432; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 31 simply mentions that Champat was given the *mansab*.

4 . See, the account of Pahar Singh of Orchha.

5 . For more political details see, *Alamgir Nama*, I, pp. 79-80; *Dilkusha*, p. 13b; *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 35-37.

crossed without much difficulties.[1] Raja Subhkaran of Datiya and Bahadur Khan who were with the prince were immediately dispatched from Narwar to contact Champat Rai and win him over.[2] He promptly agreed to help the army; associated himself with Aurangzeb's service at this crucial juncture and was awarded a *mansab* of 1000/500. Several other favours were also granted to him.[3] Champat Rai after reaching in the camp informed the prince that the river could be crossed from a place called Gorakhtal where it was not only shallow but also safe and sound from the imperial army as the road leading to Gorakhtal passed through uneven rocks and dense forests.[4] The prince agreed to follow the route and with the help of Champat Rai the combined army of Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh evaded the imperial army and successfully crossed over to Samugarh.[5] At the battle of Samugarh (9th June, 1658) Champat Rai fought bravely on the side of prince, Aurangzeb under the command of Prince Muhammad Azam who was leading the vanguard.[6] After the victory of Aurangzeb Champat Rai was promoted to the rank of 5,000[7] and the *jagirs* of Iraj,

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1 · *Alamgir Nama*, I, pp. 80-85; *Dilkusha*, p. 13(b).

2 · *Dilkusha*, p. 14a; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire* (1658-68), tr. A constable revised, V. A. Smith, second edition, London, 1916, p. 46; Nicolo Manucci, *Storio Do Mogor* (1656-1712) I, tr. Irwine, Indian Text Series, Govt. of India, London, 1907-8, p. 258; *Chhatra Prakash* mentions that Bahadur Khan was sent to Champat Rai with the *farman* of Aurangzeb. The author of this source however doesn't refer to the role played by Subhkaran in winning Champat Rai over because of the fact that he is very hostile in his work, towards the rulers of Orchha, Datiya and Chanderi.

3 · *Alamgir Nama*, p. 78; *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 39, states that Champat Rai was given 14 lakhs of *Charakh* by Aurangzeb.

4 · *Dilkusha*, p. 15b; cf. *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 16-20.

5 · Bernier, p. 46.

6 · *Alamgir Nama*, I, p. 92.

7 · *Dilkushal*, 15a; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 127, however simply mentions that Champat Rai was promoted. Whereas *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 39-41, states that Champat Rai was given a *mansab* of 12000/12000 after the battle of Samugarh.

Shahzadpur, Konch and Kaner were also assigned to him.[1] His son Angad was also rewarded with a robe of honour for his loyalty and valuable service.[2]

Champat Rai and his son Angad accompanied emperor Aurangzeb when he left Delhi in persuit of his brother Prince Dara Shikoh. However, the advance of Prince Shuja beyond Allahabad forced the Emperor to return back from Jauhar Mal in Punjab placing Champat Rai and his son under Khalilullah Khan, the governor of Lahore. But soon after the departure of Aurangzeb, Champat Rai and his son fled from Lahore and once again rebelled against the imperial authority rendering the routes to Malwa unsafe.[3]

Bhimsen gives inconvincing reason for the flight of Champat and his son from Lahore by simply stating that they revolted again ''due to their folly and lack of intelligence.''[4] Similarly the assumption of Lal Kavi in this regard is also not corroborated by the available details and prevailing political developments. He mentions that Aurangzeb sent orders to Champat Rai to leave Lahore immediately and join the Emperor against Prince Shuja. The royal messanger behaved insolently and threatened Champat Rai of dire consequences together with demotion in case the order was not set in motion at the earliest. Champat Rai who was holding a high *mansab* and had rendered valuable services to Aurangzeb during crucial times was greatly grieved with such behaviour of the messanger and

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 42. No other source mentions the grant of these *jagirs* to Champat Rai.

2 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, p. 208; *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 04; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 20; *Waqa-i-Alamgiri*, p. 35.

3 . *Alamgir Nama*, I, 208; *Dilkusha*, 16a; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, pp. 127-28.

4 . *Dilkusha*, 16a.

instead of proceeding Khajwa he revolted and returned to his newly granted *jagir* of Iraj.[1]

A careful study of the political developments taking place at the time of the flight of Champat Rai shows that he revolted not due to the insolent behaviour of the imperial messanger but because of the miscalculation of the situation. We find that although Aurangzeb was placed in a better position after his victory at Samugarh but he had not been able to consolidate his power completely due to the consistant threats being still posed by his rival brothers Prince Shuja and Dara. The advance of Prince Shuja towards Agra with a large and well equipped army, the assurance of Maharaja Jaswant Singh to assist Prince Dara against Emperor Aurangzeb (he was lateron won by Raja Jai Singh to the side of Aurangzeb), and the subsequent advance of the Prince from Gujrat to Ajmer further complicated the situation. At this juncture when Champat Rai was ordered to leave Lahore he came to believe that now the fortune was turning against Aurangzeb and under this compulsion he for his own sake revolted again. This reason only seems to be more plausible for the revolt of Champat Rai in the light of the available data.[2]

Emperor Aurangzeb was not in a position to take immediate action against Champat Rai due to his pre-occupation against his brother Prince Shuja. After his victory at Khajwa when the Emperor proceeded to Ajmer against Prince Dara he deputed Subhkaran, the ruler of Datiya and Sujan Singh of Orchha to suppress the rebel.[3] A hotly contested battle was fought at Iraj but Champat Rai

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 43.

2 . For political details during the war of succession see, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, chapt. XII. pp. 308-34.

3 . *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 44-5; Also see the accounts of Rao Subhkaran of Datiya and Sujan Singh of Orchha.

could not be captured and took shelter in the fort of Shahgarh. Subhkaran led the seige of the stronghold but it was defended so valiantly that he was unable to reduce it. As a result the seige was raised and shortly afterward Subhkaran with reinforcement again started the seige of the fort which forced Champat Rai to flee from there and take refuge at Anghori. The army of Subhkaran continued their pursuit against the rebel. Meantime the Emperor had returned to Delhi (May, 1659) and his brother Dara Shikoh had been made prisoner.[1] Aurangzeb now deputed Debi Singh of Chanderi to take the charge of the operation in the Bundelkhand. The arrivl of Debi Singh greatly strengthened the position of Subhkaran and they launched their offensive against Champat Rai jointly. The rebel was so hard pressed that he sued for peace and sent his brother Sujan Rai for negotiation. The terms and conditions put forward by Subhkaran were so harsh that Champat Rai refused to accept them. As the negotiation failed Subhkaran was recalled by Aurangzeb and sent to the Deccan.[2] But Debi Singh successfully created a discord among the supporters and relatives of Champat Rai to such an extent that Champat Rai lost all his hopes in keeping the struggle continue and finally took shelter at Bedpur. The combined and large army of Debi Singh, Sujan Singh and the Mughal officers of Malwa consisted of 16,000 cavalary forced the rebel to leave Bedpur and take refuge at the court of Indraman Dhandera of Sahara (in *Suba* Malwa) who was on good terms with Champat Rai.[3] In an attempt to prevent the imperialists to enter Sahara a large number of

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1. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 45-50.
2. See, the account of Rao Subhkaran and Debi Singh.
3. *Alamgir Nama*, II, p. 632; *Mutakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 128; Tavernier, II, p. 48; *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 55-58.

Dhanderas were killed. Incapable of any further resistance Champat Rai fled from Sahara and proceeded towards Morangaon. Under the pressure of the imperial army and to secure the safety of the region the Dhanderas arrested and killed Champat Rai in Nov. 1661. Debi Singh and Sujan Singh were rewarded by Aurangzeb fo their success in eliminating the rebel. The *jagirs* of Champat Rai were confiscated and brought under *Khalsa*.[1]

(ii) MAHARAJA CHHATRASAL (1649-1731)

The Persian chronicles of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign provide very scanty and limited information about Chhatrasal's career. Likewise, the local sources such as *Chhatra Prakash, Chhatrasal Dasak*[2] and other documents which give some informations in detail about him also need a careful scrutiny. Detailed study has already been done on this subject by many of prominent scholars like Irwine, J. N. Sarkar and B. D. Gupta.[3] In the present study we have tried to reconstruct a brief history of Chhatrasal (mainly till 1707) by critically examining the Persian and local sources.

Chhatrasal, fourth son of Champat Rai was born in 1649. At the time of his father's death he was only twelve year old. Due to the confiscation of his ancestoral jagirs by the emperor Aurangzeb he was left in a distressed

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1 . *Alamgir Nama*, p. 633; Tavernier, II, p. 48; cf. Manucci, I, p. 260, wrongly mentions that Champat Rai was killed by Emperor Aurangzeb after the battle of Samugarh and that he had 15,000 cavalary and 3,00,000 infantry at his command (p. 66). For a detailed account of Champat Rai's last days and his death see, *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 58-66; *The Later Mughals*, chapter, IX, pp. 225-28.

2 . *Chhatrasal Dasak*, a collection of poems on Chhatrasal was composed by Kavi Bushan. The poet was patrorised by Shivaji and he lived with Chhatrasal also for a ffew years. Also see, *Bhusan Granthawali* by Brij Ratandas, pp. 16-17.

3 . *The Later Mughals; Shivaji; Life and Times of Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela*, Grand Duff, *A History of the Marathas.*

condition.[1] He passed his early few years with his elder brother, Angad of Deogarh and survived on the properties left by his mother. But their poor financial condition forced them to join Mughal service.[2]

In 1665 Chhatrasal and Angad[3] joined service under Raja Jai Singh who was proceeding through Bundelkhand region against Shivaji in the Deccan. They took active part in a number of battles and fought bravely in course of the conquest of Purandhar, Rudramal and Bijapur. Chhatrasal was granted a small *mansab* of 300 by Aurangzeb on the recommendation of Raja Jai Singh.[4] Shortly afterwards, Chhatrasal was placed under the command of Diler Khan at the time of the conquest of Deogarh.[5] He showed rare valour in the battle and was seriously injured. But inspite of his meritorious service Chhatrasal was not given a high *mansab*.[6] Bhimsen clearly states that due to this he was ''desperately worried".[7] In sheer desperation he left the imperial army without the prior permission of the commander and for a better fortune approached Shivaji. But he polity refused to admit Chhatrasal to his service and advised him to go back to his ancestoral homeland of Bundelkhand.[8] He also sought the help of Subhkaran of

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1 · *Alamgir Nama*, II, p. 633; *Dilkusha*, p. 66a; *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 67-74; *Umra-i-Hunud*, p. 275.

2 · *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 74-77.

3 · Angad was given the *mansab* of 1000. History of Aurangzeb, IV, p-358.

4 · *Masir-i-Alamgir*, p. 39; *Dilkusha*, p. 66a; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 721; *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 81-84. Also ee, History of Aurangzeb, IV, p. 358.

5 · Deogarh, situated on the bank of river Betwa in district of Jhansi. For details see, *Jhansi Gazetteer*, pp. 248-50.

6 · *Chhatra Praksh*, pp. 82-83.

7 · *Dilkusha*, p. 66a.

8 · *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 84-88; D. B. Parasani, *Marathayache Prakram Bundelkhand Prakram*, p. 31-33. Also see. B. D. Gupta. p. 36. cf.

Datiya who was also serving in the Deccan at that time[1] and sometime (1668) afterwards visited Sujan Singh of Orchha, but both of them also refused to help him in any way.[2] He made his last attempt of securing assistance from his own brother Ratan Shah of Bijauri from whom he received same sort of response.[3] The refusal of Shivaji, Subhkaran, Sujan Singh and Ratan Shah indicates that Chhatrasal had hardly any support base and because of that above mentioned reason they were not ready to unnecessarily spoil their relation with the Mughal Emperor. It also shows that Chhatrasal even in this situation could not muster the support of his kinsmen. Finding no help coming from any quarter, Chhatrasal started strengthening his own position independently by attacking the Mughal out posts situated on the eastern side of Bundelkhand and with the passage of time he was able to maintain a considerable number of troops.[4]

Chhatra Prakash mentions that between 1668-78 Chhatrasal fought about thirteen battles against the Mughal officers like Fidai Khan, *subedar* of Gwalior, Hashim Khan *faujdar* of Sirong, Randaula Khan, *faujdar* of Dhamuni, Tahanwar Khan, Anwar Khan, Mirza Sadruddin, Abdul Samad, Sayyid Bahadur, Sayyid Latif, Murad Khan and Shah Quli. He also attacked the local *zamindars* of the region like Kunwar Sen, Dhandera, Keshao Rai of Bansa etc. and forced them to pay the *chauth* to him. Among the places attacked and

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1. See, the account of Subhkaran of Datiya.
2. See, the history of Sujan Singh of Orchha.
3. *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 103-4.
4 & 66. *Dilkusha*, p. 68a; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, XXIV, p. 197.

Chhatra Prakash, pp. 105-76, gives a vivid and exaggerated account of all the above mentioned battles.

plundered by Chhatrasal during this period were Chitrakut, Mahoba, Deogarh, Kolre, Senhura, Maraund, Sagar, Damoh, Barhata, Bhilsa, Gwalior, Sironj, Dhamuni, Bansa and Kalinjar. Out of the total thirteen battles Chhatrasal fought against the imperialists he emerged victorious ten times, two proved inconclusive and he was defeated in a single battle only. Although there are no specific references of these battles in contemporary Persian chronicles but *Masir-i-Alamgiri* mentions the appointment of above mentioned Mughal officers in quick succession, indirectly corrobarates the fact of unsatisfactory performances of these officers against Chhatrasal.[1]

In 1679, Aurangzeb appointed Jaswant Singh of Orchha to suppress Chhatrasal and his brother Angad Rai. He with the help of imperial officers posted in the region of Bundelkhand and with active cooperation of the local *zamindars* of the areas who had regularly been harassed by the rebels, forced Chhatrasal and his brother to submit very shortly. On the request of Jaswant Singh they were not only pardoned but the Emperor also admitted them in the imperial service.[2] But it is very difficult to say how long Chhatrasal and Angad served the imperial authority loyally because we get references of them being in open rebellion in 1686 and again submission before the Emperor in 1696.

From a letter of Aurangzeb addressed to his third son, Prince Muhammad Azam, dated 1686 we come to know that Chhatrasal and his grandson Pahar Singh were in open

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1. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 65, 80, 89, 93, 97, 126-28.

2. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 169; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 721; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 275.

rebellion. When they plundered the *pargana* of Malwa, Pahar Singh was killed by the Mughal officer named Taluk Chand.[1]

Emperor Aurangzeb's departure from northern India in 1681 and his prolonged stay in the Deccan provided ample opportunity for the rebel like Chhatrasal to strengthen his position. During 1681-96 besides attacking the imperial territories, now he extended his operation in the *parganas* of Chanderi belonging to his own kinsmen. He also succeeded in plundering imperial caravans on their way to the Deccan.[2] However in 1696 Chhatrasal was forced to submit before the imperial authority and was appointed the *quiledar* of the fort of Satara (Ajamtara). But it is really interesting that why and in what circumstances he offered his submission even the *Chhatra Prakash* is completely silent on this. After serving for four years (1696-1700) he again revolted and returned to his ancestoral land of Bundelkhand.[3]

According to local source, Chhatrasal conquered Kalinjar alongwith a large part of Banda and Hamirpur districts in 1700.[4] Bhimsen specifically mentions that the influences of Chhatrasal had extended beyond the river Narmada by the year 1702.[5] In 1703, he proceeded west of the river Dhasan (in the western part of Bundelkhand) and over ran the *parganas* of Jhansi, Jalaun and plundered Iraj and Kalpi.[6] Nima Sindhia, a Maratha *sardar* devastated the province of Malwa on the instigation and with the help of Chhatrasal.[7]

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1. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 23-24.
2. *Dilkusha*, p. 141a; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 198.
3. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 424; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, 721.
4. *Jhansi Gazetteer*, p. 198.
5. *Dilkusha*, 142a.
6. Jhansi Gazetteer, p. 198.
7. *Dilkusha*, p. 148b.

To deal effectively against Chhatrasal and counter his influence in the western part of Bundelkhand Emperor Aurangzeb established new military posts in Malwa and Bundelkhand region and placed it under Diler Khan, Muhammad Khan Pathan and Bahlol Khan Mayana. For gaining local support he restored a number of places like Dhamuni and others to those Gond and other chiefs of the Bundelkhand region to whom these places originally belonged and had later on been conquered by the Bundelas and after 1635 annexed in the Mughal domain.[1]

It seems that the above arrangements proved very effective in reducing the strength and local support of Chhatrasal and he was fored to submit again in 1705. The Emperor pardoned his offences and on the recommendation of Firoz Jang awarded a high *mansab* of 4,000. His ons Hirde Shah and Padam Singh were also granted the mansabs of 1500/1000 and 1500/500 respectively. The other son of Chhatrasal named Kunwar Chand was also given a mansab.[2] After serving for two years in the Deccan Chhatrasal returned his *watan* (Mahewa) following the death of emperor Aurangzeb on 2nd March, 1707.[3]

After the demise of Aurangzeb, Chhatrasal served under his successor Bahadur Shah. But taking the full advantages of internal dissensions, political chaos in the Mughal empire, frequent war of succession leading to the intrigue and division among the nobility,[4] Chhatrasal brought under

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 165-67.

2 . *Dilkusha*, p. 157b; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, pp. 721-22; *Akbhar*, Ist Jan. 1707; Also see, Gupta, *Chhatrasal Bundela*, p. 63.

3 . *Dilkusha*, p. 157b; *Masir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 721.

4 . For a detailed study about a number of daunting problems with which the Mughal empire was faced after the death of Aurangzeb see, *Parties and politics at the Mughal Court*, (1707-1740) and *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*.

his control eastern half of Bundelkhand.[1] At the time of his death in 1731 his kingdom comprised a number of important places like Kalpi, Jalaun, Konch, Iraj and Jhansi in the west, Sironj, Guna, Dhamuni, Garhkota, Sagar, Bansa, Damoh and Maihar in the south, Kalinjar and Chitrakut in the east, yeilding a revenue of 69, 23, 76 rupees. After the death of Chhatrasal at the ripe age of eighty three years his sons Harde Shah and Jagat Singh succeeded him as the rajas of Panna and Jaitpur.[2]

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1 . *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 167; *Masir-ul-Umara*, pp. 721-22; *Umara-i-Hunud*, p. 276; *Jhansi Gazetteer*, pp. 198-99.

2 . For details see, *The Later Mughals*, pp. 232-41; *Life and Times of Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela*. Both these works have already discussed the political carrier of Chhatrasal after the death of Aurangzeb in very detail.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion it clearly emerges that the Bundelas were not considered as their equals by the Rajputs of Ajmer *suba* although they also claimed to be one of the thirty six traditional clans of the Rajputs. We get no reference of Bundela materimonial relationship with either Rathors, kachhwahas or Sisodias etc. It is also significant to note that except for Jahangir no other Mughal ruler established materimonial relationship with them. It seems, because of this the Bundelas could not receive the attention that they actually deserved as has been brought out in our study.

The Bundelas entered in the Mughal service late basically because of political confusion after the death of Islam Shah, taking the advantage of which Madhukar Shah captured the territories of his neighbouring *Zamindars* thus considerably strengthening his position. After the re-establishment of Mughal rule and during the major portion of Akbar's reign Madhukar Shah continued his policy of extending the limits of his kingdom at the expanse of imperial territoties; he even ignored the conciliatory policy of Akbar. He accepted the overlorship of Akbar only when hard pressed but declared his independence when he found himself secure. This situation continued till Madhukar Shah's death in 1592 when his son Ram Shah offered his submission. He was given a rank of 500. But even at this late stage the Bundelas could not become part of Mughal nobility because of the revolt of Bir Singh Deo aganist his brother Ram Shah; Ram shah's failure to suppress him and finally the murder of Abul Fazl by Bir Singh Deo at the instance of prince Salim

further complicated the situation. Because of these developments a state of war continued in Bundelkhand and except for Ram Shah and few others a large number of Bundelas remained hostile to the Mughals.

The accession of Jahangir was the begining of a new chapter in Mughal-Bundela relationship. Jahangir in reward for the service, as promised earlier raised Bir Singh Deo to the throne of Orchha and rapidly promoted him to the rank of 5,000/5,000 (he was also given the title of *Maharaja*), but to conciliate other Bundela chiefs specially Ram Shah who was dispossessed of his kingdom of Orchha was specially granted Chanderi and recognised him the hereditary ruler of the kingdom. To futher sooth his feelings he also marrried his daughter. This marriage was significant in the sence that this was the first and last marriage of the Mughal rulers with a Bundela chief's daughter.[1]

Yet another reason for adopting conciliatory attitude towards the Bundelas was Jahangir's suspicion towards Akbari nobles. As he was not in a position to dismiss or even punish Akbari nobles he decided to raise new nobles on whom he could have complete confidence. Rapid promotions to some of the Bundela nobles was also the result of this policy.

During Jahangir's reign the Bundela chiefs in general and Bir Singh Deo in particular because of his close relation with the Emperor enjoyed important position at the court. Bir Singh Deo taking advantage of his high status at the court and close firendly relations with the Emperor during the closing years of Jahangir's reign

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1 See Chapters II & V

extended the boundaries of his kingdom and amassed great wealth from his neighbouring territories. Although these acquisitions were illegal, as the later developments indicate, Jahangir raised no objection. It could have been because of Jahangir's special regard for Bir Singh Deo or it is possible that due to other pressing problems[1] Jahangir could hardly get any time to react.

The period of Shah Jahan is dominated by the rebellions of Jujhar Singh and Champat Rai as far as Bundelas are concerned. And it has generally been suggested that Shah Jahan was hostile to the Bndelas because of their negative role during the years of his rebellion. The present study however shows that soon after his accession Shah Jahan not only reinstated Jujhar Singh to the *gaddi* of Orchha but also promoted him to the rank of 5,000/4,000. But at the same time the Emperor also set up an enquiry to investigate the allegation of illegal acquisition of large territories and wealth by Jujhar Singh's father Bir Singh Deo. Jujhar Singh became suspicious and fled from the court and rebelled. But shortly afterwards he was pardoned when he accepted the proposals of peace offered by the Emperor. In 1635 he again rebelled and Shahjahan was again ready to forgive him provided he agreed to pay a sun of Rs. 30 lakhs and handover Chauragarh or territory equal to Chauragarh from his kingdom to Hirde Ram. But Jujhar Singh refused to accept these terms which ultimately led to his death and destruction of his kingdom.

However, Shah Jahan's breach with Jughar Singh and his family members did not mean a total break in Mughal-Bundela relations. We see that Shah Jahan tried to revive

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1 See Chapter II

the hereditary rule of succession by recognising Debi Singh as the ruler of Orchha. Similarly he took no action against those family members of Bir Singh Deo who stood loyal to him during the rebellion of Jujhar Singh. Besides that Bir Singh Deo's sons Pahar Singh, Narhar Das, Chandramani, Bhagwan Das, Puran Mal and the sons of Pahar Singh Jugandar Singh and Mitr Sen were also admitted to the Mughal service and granted *mansabs*. Even Champat Rai of Mahewa who did not belong to the family of Bir Singh Deo was granted the rank of 500/500. Thus the friendly relation established by Jahangir with the Bundelas, in general, continued during the reign of Shah Jahan also.[2]

Although a large number of Bundelas remained in Mughal service even after the rebellions of Jujhar Singh and Champat Rai as mentioned above, the prestige and power of the rulers of Orchha considerably diminished. A large part of the kingdom of Orchha was confiscated. Besides that huge amount of money was also collected from Orchha, Dhamuni, Jhansi and other places during the course of war. Thus the kingdom of Orchha became so weak that henceforth they were in no position to create any problem either for the imperial Mughals or the neighbouring *Zamindars*. Almost the same policy was adopted by Aurangzeb in 1696 when he annexed a major portion of Marwar (Jodhpur) state to weaken the Rathors.

Emperor Aurangzeb also broadly adopted the policy of his predecessors towards the Bundelas because some of them like Rao Subhkaran and Champat Rai played very crucial role in the beginning of the war of succession. The other Bundela nobles such as Sujan Singh and his younger

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2 See Appendix 'A'

brothers Indramani, Puran Mal and Mitr Sen were among those nobles of Shahjahan who joined the service of Aurangzeb shortly after the battle of Samugarh and afterwards they rendered valuable service in suppressing the rival brothers of the Emperor. The complete loyalty of the Bundelas with the sole exception of Champat Rai during the entire period of war of succession helped them to improve their position at the Mughal court. They were given rapid promotion and important military commands[1] .

The position of the Bundelas continued to rise also during the second phase (1679-1707). Even the admission of the Deccanis and Marathas in large number could affect their position only temporarily.

Aurangzeb's special regard for the Bundelas may be further seen from an event of 1687 when Bhagwan Das, the ruler of Orchha died without leaving a heir to the throne. On the request of Rani Amar Kunwari, the grandmother of the deceased *Raja* the Emperor granted the *tika* to Udwat Singh although Udwat Singh did not belong to the family of Bir Singh Deo[7] . In normal course the state would have been annexed to the Mughal empire till a successor to the throne was decided as Aurangzeb had done about ten years before in the case of Marwar (Jodhpur) and in difference to the wishes of Rani Hadi the Emperor recognised Indra Singh. This event clearly indicates that Aurangzeb remained extremly friendly to Bundelas even during the period when it was generally believed that he was cool towards Rajputs.

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1 See Chapter, II, III & V

6 See Appendix BI

7 For details see the account of Udwat Singh of Orchha and *Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, pp. 100-101

Our study has also shown that Bundelas were a divided house. There was no strong bonds of Kinship ties in the Bndelas as we see so common in the Rajputs of Ajmer *suba*. Besies that we also see dissensions and conflict within the family and actually such conflicts continued in our period right from the time of Madhukar Sha's death when Bir Singh Deo openly rebelled against the accession of his elder brother Ram Shah. Mughal Emperors fully utilised these differences to curtail their powers by dividing their territories among different families. Whenever a Bundela chief rebelled the Mughal rulers utilised the services of other Bundela chiefs in suppressing the revolts for which they were always ready mainly because of family feuds. Generally such campaigns were successful because the Bundelas were fully aware with the topography of the region and the weakness of the adversaries.[1]

Although by these methods the Mughals were able to weaken the power of the Bundelas but even then they failed to establish complete peace and prosperity in the region.

The major contribution of Bundelas was in different milita.y campaigns which were sent by the Mughal Emperors all over the empire. Our sources are full of their meritorious services in the campaigns against Mewar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golconda, Marathas, Kabul-Qandhar, Balkh and Badaksham. They also served against the rebellions of Prince Khurram, Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, Akbar and nobles like Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and Mahabat Khan.

In recognition of their services Bir Singh Deo, Jujhar Singh, Pahar Singh, Indramani, Champat Rai, Chhatrasal and

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1 See chapters II & V, specially the rebellions of Jujhar Singh, Champat Rai and Chhatrasal.

Rao Dalpat were given very high *mansabs* of 5,000/5,000, 5,000/5,000, 4,000/4,000 (2000 × 2-3 h), 4000/3000 (500 × 2-3 h), 5000/X, 4,000/X, 5,000/5,000. But in spite of holding such high *mansabs* none of them was appointed to any high office at central government. They were also never considered for the office of provincial governors. But it will not be correct to conclude that they were not given central offices and provincial governorships merely because of the murder of Abul Fazl by Bir Singh Deo, internal dissensions, rebellions of Jujhar Singh, Champat Rai, Chhatrasal and indifferent attitude of the leading Rajputs and Turani nobles. As a matter of fact, from the time of Jahangir Rajputs were generally not appointed to the office of governor. Only few Rajputs were considered for this office for a short period.[1] However the Bundelas like other Rajputs were given military posts such as *quiledar* and *faujdar*.

We have prepared lists of Bundela nobles and Rajput nobles of the houses of Amber (Kachhwahas), Marwar (Rathors) and Mewar (Sisodias) along with their *mansabs* during the period 1592-1707 (Appendices B II, III and IV).

A study of Appendix 'A' clearly shows that of all the Bundela nobles of the House of Orchha, Datiya, Chanderi and Mahewa, the House of Orchha enjcyed preemiment position (their numerical strength and total *mansab* were much larger than the other houses of Bundela chiefs.

As discussed in chapter IInd and IVth the entry of Bundelas in the Mughal service was very late and till the

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[1] The Rajputs who were appointed to the office of provincial governorship by Jahangir was Raja Man Singh while during the reign of Shah Jahan only Raja Bethal Das was considered for this post. For the reign of Aurangzeb see, *Nobility Under Aurangzeb*.

end of Akbar's reign only Ram Shah entered the service and held the rank of 500. But after the accession of Jahangir the Bundelas came to prominence because of Bir Singh Deo who was rapidly promoted to the rank of 5,000/5,000 and several other Bundelas were also admitted in service and given *mansabs*. Bir Singh Deo taking advantage of his special status at the court also increased the territorial limits of his kingdom by annexing estates of neighbouring *Zamindars*. Not only that Orchha became a large state, the prestige of the Bundela House of Orchha also increased considerebly at the Mughal cour. Although total *mansab* of Bundelas during Jahangir's reign (1611) was only 4,500/2,000[1] which was still much less to the total *mansab* of kachhwahas[2] (27,000/23,300) but the position of the kachhwahas on account of Man Singh's conspiracy to enthrone khusrau suffered at the court. Similarly the position of Sisodias also considerably increased after the settlement of 1613 when they agreed to accept the overlordship of the Mughals and their total *mansab* came to 5,000/5,000 in 1615.[3]

After the accession of Shah Jahan the Bundelas further improved their position numerically as well as in terms of total *mansab* held because four sons of Bir Singh Deo were admitted in the service and some senior nobles like Jujhar Singh and his son Bikramajit (Jagraj) and Bharat Shah were given promotions.[4] The total strength of the *mansab* of Bundela Nobles in 1628 came to 13,500/10,100 which was almost equal to the total *mansabs* of kachhwahas

1 See Appendix 'B'

2 See Appendix BI

3 See Appindix BIV

4 See Appendix 'A'

(14,000/5,550) and Sisodias (11,000/10,500) during the same period. However with the rebellion of Jujhar Singh the Bundelas suffered a set back. Jujhar Singh and his son Bikramajit were killed and no fresh appointment was given to any other Bundela chiefs. But all those Bundela *mansabdars* who served loyally were rewarded with promotions.

The Bundelas were able to considerably improve their postion after the accession of Aurangzeb on account of their crucial support during the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb promoted Sujan Singh, Indramani, Jaswant Singh, Rao Subhkaran, Debi Singh and Champat Rai and several Bundela chiefs were also admitted in service. In the first year of Aurangzeb's coronation the total *mansab* held by them was 21,500/13,200. During the same period (1659) the total *mansab* held by other houses of Rajasthan was as follows :

Table 'A'

Year	Houses of Rajputs	Total of *mansab*
1659	Kachhwahas	15,000/14200
–	Rathors	21,000/16900
–	Sisodias	17,000/9200

This table clearly indicates that the Bundelas came to enjoy number two position among Rajputs in the first phase of Aurangzeb

The Bundelas suffered a set back during the years 1678-91.[1] But it was not because of Aurangzeb's hostility toward them. It had also nothing to do with the Rathor

1 See Appendix 'B'

rebellion because Bundelas were actually deputed to suppress the rebellion. The main reason for the decline was the death of Rao subhkaran and Indramani. Besides during this period promotions were also not given to Bundelas to accomodate the Deccanis and Marathas who were admitted in large numbers. Although during this period and even after that the numerical strength of the Rajputs and their total *mansab* declined but significantly Bundelas again regained their position after 1692.

Table 'B'[14]

Year	Houses	Total of mansa	Total mumerical strength
1707	Bundelas	21500/11700	09
–	Kachhwahas	14200/12000(2-3h)	04
–	Rathors	9500/6550	05
–	Sisodias	5000/3800	03

The above table clearly shows that the numerical strength and total *mansabs* of Bundela nobles was much higher than the total *mansabs* and numerical strength of other prominent houses of Rajputs.[1]

It seems important to breifly discuss as to why inspite of long years of service and enjoying important position at the court the Bundela nobles (chiefs) frequently rebelled. This problem becomes much more important when we notice that the Bundelas at the Mughal court were in no way inferior to other Rajputs during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Not only that there were fewer revolts of Rajputs and the causes of their revolts as is

1 We have prepared the numerical strength of Kachhwahas, Rathors and Sisodias from the details of the *Nobility Under Aurangzeb*

well known were quite different to the causes of Bundela revolts. From our study it emerges that the Bundelas because of the peculiar circumtances in which they accepted the overlordship of the Mughals, did not fully follow Mughal paramountcy law. Though they fully acknowledged the overlordshp of Mughals but in their dealings with their erstwhile subordinate chiefs who have now accepted the overlordship of Mughals, and other neighbouring state, (now subordinate states to Mughals) they still followed past practices. They used coersive methods to collect tributes and waged wars against neighbouring states without the permission of the Mughals.Incidentally during the last years of Jahangir's reign Bir Singh Deo as discussed earlier captured territories of several neighbouring states and the Emperor took no notice although this act of Bir Singh Deo was nothing short of a rebellion.When Shah Jahan after ascending the throne instituted an enquiry to investigate Bir Singh Deo's acquisition Jughar Singh rebelled. Although he was pardoned when promised to pay 15 lakhs but in 1635 he again rebelled mainly because Shah Jahan ordered him to return the teritory of Prem Narain which he had captured.[1]

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[1] For a full length discussion on the relation between the Mughal Emperors (who were paramount power) and their tributory chiefs (who were under various obligation of the Mughals) see, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar.*

APPENDIX 'A'
(I) House of Orchha
Bundela Rajas and their *Mansabs*

(i) Ram Chand (Shah) s/o Madhukar Shah

Year		*Zat-/Sawar*	*Source*
1592-1605		500	Ain, I, 228; Tuzuk, *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* 151(a); 13; Cf. Vigat, II, 490-2.

(ii) Raja Bir Singh Deo s/o Madhukar Shah

1605		3000/2000	*Tuzuk*, 10
1611		4000/2000	Ibid, 100 Cf. Haw-Kins, p. 98-9.
1612		4000/2200	Ibid., 112
1615		4000/2900	Ibid., 137
1619		5000/5000	Ibid., 306
1627		5000/5000	Ibid., 356

(iii) Jujhar Singh s/o Bir Singh Deo

1622		2000/1000	*Tuzuk*, 356
1627		4000/4000	Lahori, I, 253
1628		5000/4000	Ibid., 296
1629		5000/5000	Ibid., 302
1635	d.	5000/5000	Lahori, I (b), 295

(iv) Bikarmajit (Jagraj) s/o Jujahr Singh

1627		1000/1000	Lahori, I, 183; M. U. I., 227
1630		2000/2000	Qazwini, Pt. b, 208; Lahori, I, 338; *Z. kh*, II, 93-101.
1635	d.	2000/2000	Qazwini, 359; Lahori, I (b), 139-40; Salih, II, 116.

(v) Raja Pahar Singh s/o Bir Singh Deo

1627		2000/1040	Lahori, I, 121
1628		2000/1200	Ibid.; M. U. II, Pt. I, 470
1629		3000/2000	Qazwini, 130 (a); Lahori, I, 205; & Salih, I, 204; M.U.II Pt. I, 470
1630		3000/2000	Lahori, I, 303, M. U. II, Pt. I, 470
1632		3000/2000	Lahori, I (b), 298
1642		3000/3000	Lahori, II, Pt.I, 304.
1645		4000/3000	
.		(1000 × 2 - 3h)	Lahori, 479; M. U. 471
1651		4000/4000 (2000 × 2 - 3h)	Waris, Pt. (b), 98
1655	d.	4000/3000	Waris, 199 (a); M. U. II, 472; *Chhatra Prakash*, 34.

(vi) Raja Sujan Singh s/o Pahar Singh

1655		2000/2000 (2-3h)	Waris, 199 (a); Salih, III, 107
1656		2000/2000 (2-3h)	Ibid., 261 (a); Ibid, 197
1657		2500/2500 (2000 × 2 - 3h)	Salih, III, 262
1658		3500/3000	*Alamgir Nama*, I, 341
1660		3500/3500 (2 - 3h)	Ibid., 586
1668	d.	3500/3500 (2 - 3h)	M. U. II, 883

		(vii) Raja Indramani s/o Pahar Singh	
1655		500/400	Waris, 269 (a)
1658		1000/600	*Alamgir Nama*, I, 290
1659		4000/3000 (500 × 2 - 3h)	Ibid., 339, 478
1677	d.	4000/3000 (500 × 2 - 3h)	M.U.II, 883
		(viii) Raja Jaswant Singh s/o Indramani	
1658		1000/ ×	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 169, M.U. II,293-4
1677		1500/1000 (2 - 3h)	*Selected Documents of Ahmedabad*, 150-5; Mamuri, 165 (a); *Masir-i-Alamgir*, 273; M. U. II, 883
1687	d.	1500/1000 (2 - 3h)	*Dilkusha*, 96 (a).
		(ix) Raja Bhagwant Singh s/o Jaswant Singh	
1687		1000/1000	*Dilkusha*, 96 (a); M.U. II, 883
1688	d.	1000 1000	Ibid.
		(x) Raja Udwat Singh s/o Pratap Singh	
1688		1500/1500	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 2)2; *Tazkirat-ul-Umara*, 131 (a)
1692		2000/1500	Ibid.
1703		3500/2000 (500 *mashrut*)	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 473; Kammar, 282 (a).
1707		3500/2000 (500 *mashrut*)	M.U. II, 884

OTHER BUNDELA MANSABDARS AND ZAMINDARS BELONGING TO THE HOUSE OF ORCHHA

(xi) Narhar Das

1628		500/200	Lahori, I, 196
1634	d.	500/200	Lahori, I (b), 324; Cf. Salih, III, 484

(xii) Chhandramani s/o Bir Singh Deo

1628		1000/600	Lahori, I, 295
1630		1500/700	Ibid., 372
1637		1500/800	Ibid, I (b), 306
1647		1500/800	Ibid., II, Pt. I, 485-6, 564-5; Salih, III, 462

(xiii) Bhagwan Das s/o Bir Singh Deo

1628		1000/600	Qazwini, Pt. a, 131; Lahori, I, 205
1637		1000/600	Ibid., Pt. C, 366; Ibid, I (b), 138-40, 309
1641	d.	1500/1200	Lahori, II, 734

(xiv) Beni Das s/o Bir Singh Deo

1631		500/40	Lahori, I, 368
1637		500/200	*Ibid*, I (b), 324
1640	d.	500/200	*Ibid*, II, 749

(xv) Puran Mal s/o Bir Singh Deo

1650		1000/1000	Waris, 98 (b)
1651		1500/1000	Ibid., 136 (a); Salih, III, 143
1655		1500/1500	Ibid., 212 (a)
1657		1500/1500	Ibid., 263 (a); Salih, III, 461
1665		2000/1500	*Alamgirnama*, II, 980-88
1666		2000/1500	Ibid., 993-5

(xvi) Jugandar Singh s/o Pahar Singh

1639		300/100	Hyderbad 157/2

(xvii) Mitr Sen s/o Pahar Singh

1654		1500/1200	*Alamgir Nama*, II, 302
1667		1000/1000	Ibid., 964, 1062

(xviii) Sarup Singh s/o Udwat Singh

1679-1707		1500/500	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 386; *Dilkusha*, 117 (b)

(II) Bundela Mansabdars of the House of Datiya

(i) Rao Subhkaran s/o Bhagwan Das

1641		1500/500 100/ ×	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 386; *Dilkusha*, 117 (b) *Dilkusha*, 7 (a)
1642		1500/1400	Hyderabad, 170
1659		2500/2000	*Alamgirnama*, II, 361, 565, 1034
1661		2500/2200	*Ibid.*, 635
1678	d.	2500/2200	*Dilkusha*, 81(b)

(ii) Rao Dalpat s/o Rao Subhkaran

1669		250/80	*Dilkusha*, 38 (a); M. U. I, 443
1673		300/300	M. U. I, 443
1678		400/400	*Dilkusha*, 79 (a); *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 102
1681		600/600 (2 - 3h)	Ibid., 87 (b), 88 (a). M. U. I, 443
1682		700/700	Ibid., 88 (a), 89 (c)
1685		1500/1500	Ibid., 99 (b); *Masir-i-Alam-giri*, 762
1687		2000/2000	Ibid., 96 (ab)
1688		2500/2500	*Dilkusha*, 96 (a)
1691		2000/2000	*Ibid.*, 98 (a-b)
1691		2500/2500	*Ibid.*, 101 (a-b); M. U., 444
1698		3000/2700	*Ibid.*, 123 (b)
1699		2500/2400	*Ibid.*, 125-27 (a-b)
1701		2500/2700	*Ibid.*, 136 (a)
1702		3000/2700	*Ibid.*, 144 (a); M. U. I., 444

1705		3000/3000	*Ibid.*, 157 (b); M. U. I., 444
1707		3000/3000	Ibid.
1707	d.	5000/5000	M. U. I. 444; *Umara-i-Hunud*, 201

(iii) Rao Ram Chand s/o Rao Dalpat

1702		2000/2000 (1000 × 2 - 3h)	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 300; *Akh*. 27th Muharram, 44th R. Y.
1707		2000/2000 (1000 × 2 - 3h)	Ibid

(iv) Bharti Chand s/o Rao Dalpat

1706		500/200	*Dilkusha*, 119 (a)
1707		1500/1000	*Amal-al-Harab*, 168; *Farhatul-Naziri*, 206 (b)

(v) Sarup Singh

1691		1500/ ×	*Dilkusha*, 117 (b)
1707		1500/ ×	Ibid

(III) Bundela Mansabdars of the House of Chanderi

(i) Raja Ram Shah s/o Madhukar Shah

1611		500/ ×	*Tuz*. 10
1612	d.	500/ ×	*Ibid.*, 231

(ii) Raja Bharat Shah g/o Ram Shah

1619		600/400	*Tuz.*, II, 88
1622		1500/1000	*Ibid.*, 250, 253
1627		2500/2000	*Umara-i-Hunud*, 100
1628		3000/2500	Qazwini, Pt. a, 129; Lahori I, 120; Salih, I, 204; Inayat, 19.
1630		3000/3000	Lahori, 298, 302.

1631		3500/3000	*Ibid.*, 396-7
1634	d.	4000/3500	*Ibid.*, 542; I (b) 13

(iii) Raja Debi Singh s/o Bharat Shah

1634	2000/2000	Lahori, I (b), 13-14
1635	2500/2000	*Ibid.*, 72
1636	3000/3000	Qazwini, (c), 345; Lahori, II, 87
1637	2500/2000	Lahori, I (b), 300
1657	2500/2000	Lahori, II, 725; Waris, 261 (a); Salih, III, 457
1658	2500/2500	*Alamgirinama*, 206-7
1659	2500/2500 (500 × 2 - 3h)	*Ibid.*, 341; *Selected Documents*, 117; M. U. 472
1681	2500/2500 (500 × 2 - 3h)	*Ibid.*
1707	2500/2500 (500 × 2 - 3h)	Mamuri, 154 (a)

(IV) Bundela Mansabdars of the House of Mahewa (Panna)

(i) Champat Rai s/o Bhagwat Rai

1653		500/500	Waris, 269 (b)
1657		500/500	Salih, III, 482
1658		1000/500	*Alamgir Nama*, 78
1658		5000/ ×	*Dilkusha*, 15 (b)
1661	d.		*Alamgir Nama*, 631-2

(ii) Maharaja Chhatrasal s/o Champat Rai

1665	300/ ×	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 39.

1705	4000/ ×	*Dilkusha*, 157 (b); M. U. II, 721
1707	4000/ ×	Ibid.
	(iii) Angad Rai	
1665	1000/ ×	*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 39, as cited by Sarkar
	(iv) Hirde Shah s/o Chhatrasal	
1707	2000/200 (1000 × 2 - 3h)	*Akh*. Ist Jan. 1707, cited by B. Bundela 63.
	(v) Padam Singh s/o Chhatrasal	
1707	1500/500	*Akh*. Ist Jan. 1707, also cited by B. D. Gupta, *Chhatrasal Bundela*, 63

APPENDIX 'B'

I. *Mansabs* held by Bundelas, C. 1592-1707

		Total of the *Mansab*		
S. NO.	Year	*Zat*	*Sawar*	
1.	1592-1605	500	×	
2.	1605	3,500	2,000	
3.	1611	4,500	2,000	
4.	1612	4,500	2,200	
5.	1615	4,000	2,900	
6.	1619	5,600	5,400	
7.	1622	8,500	7,000	
8.	1627	9,500	8,000	
9.	1628	13,500	10,100	
10.	1629	14,500	11,900	
11.	1630	16,000	13,500	
12.	1631	17,000	13,540	
13.	1634	17,500	14,040	
14.	1635	15,500	12,340	
15.	1636	9,000	6,340	
16.	1637	8,500	5,600	
17.	1639	8,800	5,700	
18.	1640	8,500	5,600	
19.	1641	10,000	7,400	
20.	1642	8,500	7,200	(1000 du aspa sih aspa)
21.	1645	9,500	7,200	
22.	1651	9,500	8,400	(2,000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
23.	1653	10,000	8,900	(2000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
24.	1655	10,000	8,400	
25.	1655	8,000	7,400	(2000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
26.	1657	9,000	8,300	(2000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
27.	1658	16,000	9,000	
28.	1659	21,500	13,200	(1000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
29.	1660	21,500	13,700	(4,500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
30.	1661	16,500	13,900	(4,500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
31.	1665	18,300	13,700	(4,500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
32.	1667	16,500	13,500	(4,500 *du aspa sih aspa*)

33.	1668	14,000	11,800 (4,500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
34.	1677	10,800	9,000 (2000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
35.	1678	6,900	6,100 (1500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
36.	1681	6,100	4,600 (2100 *du aspa sih aspa*)
37.	1682	6,200	4,700 (1500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
38.	1685	7,000	5,500 (1500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
39.	1687	8,500	7,000 (1500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
40.	1688	9,000	8,000 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
41.	1689	8,000	7,000 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
42.	1691	7,500	6,500 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
43.	1691	9,500	7,000 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
44.	1692	10,000	7,000 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
45.	1698	10,500	7,200 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
46.	1699	10,000	6,900 (500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
47.	1702	12,500	9,200 (1500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
48.	1703	14,000	9,700 (1500 *du aspa sih aspa* and 500 *mashrutI*)
49.	1705	18,000	10,000 (1500 *du aspa sih aspa* and 500 *mashrut*)
50.	1707	21,500	11,700 (2000 *du aspa sih aspa* and 500 *mashrut*)
51.	1707	25,000	15,000 (2000 *du aspa sih aspa*)

II. *Mansabs* held by Kachhwahas

C. 1594-1707[1]

Total of the *Mansab*

S.No.	Year	*Zat*	*Sawar*
1.	1574	5,000	-
2.	1583	2,000	-
3.	1585	5,000	-
4.	1589	5,000	-
5.	1590	5,000	-
6.	1593	6,000	-
7.	1594	14,000	-

(1) We have constructed the total *mansab* held by kachhawahas in different years with the help of details from M. Athar Ali's *Apparatus of Empire, Awards of Ranks, offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility* (1574-1658), OUP, Delhi, 1985; pp.03-345; *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb,* Bombay 1966 pp. 175-270 and Rifaqat Ali Khan's *Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir,* New Delhi, 1976.

8.	1595	15,050	-	
9.	1596	14,250	-	
10.	1599	13,550	-	
11.	1601	15,300	1,250	
12.	1604	13,300	1,950	
13.	1605	27,400	18,400	
14.	1606	29,500	25,100	
15.	1611	27,000	23,300	
16.	1616	16,300	12,200	
17.	1617	9,000	4,700	
18.	1621	8,200	3,200	
19.	1627	7,000	3,400	
20.	1628	14,000	5,550	
21.	1629	14,500	9,900	
22.	1630	15,700	10,040	
23.	1631	10,900	8,100	
24.	1634	8,500	6,500	
25.	1635	10,200	7,000	
26.	1636	8,800	7,400	
27.	1637	8,100	6,950	
28.	1638	8,960	7,195	
29.	1639	8,640	7,150	
30.	1641	8,340	7,100	
31.	1644	8,340	7,190	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
32.	1646	9,290	8,210	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
33.	1647	15,440	11,650	(2000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
34.	1648	12,240	9,790	(3000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
35.	1650	10,140	8,825	(3000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
36.	1651	10,560	9,610	(3000 *du aspasih aspa*)
37.	1652	10,560	9,610	(3000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
38.	1653	12,000	10,500	(3000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
39.	1656	13,200	11,050	(3000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
40.	1657-58	11,400	8,500	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
41.	1657-58	12,000	9,500	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
42.	1657-58	10,400	8,500	(4000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
43.	1658-1707	15,000	14,200	(12,000 *du aspa sih aspa*)

III. *Mansabs* held by Rathors, C. 1594-1707[1]

Total of the *Mansab*

S.No.	Year	Zat	Sawar	
1.	1594	250	-	
2.	1595	800	-	
3.	1597	500	-	
4.	1605	1000	300	
5.	1611	5,000	-	
6.	1615	1,000	300	
7.	1627	7,000	3,100	
8.	1628	8,500	4,700	
9.	1631	8,900	4,150	
10.	1632	4,500	2,700	
11.	1634	5,000	3,200	
12.	1635	7,500	6,150	
13.	1637	9,510	6,100	
14.	1638	9,700	5,930	
15.	1639	11,000	6,750	
16.	1640	15,700	11,750	(1000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
17.	1641	15,300	12,250	(1000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
18.	1642	14,800	12,150	(1000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
19.	1644	15,300	13,250	(1000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
20.	1645	19,400	15,250	(1000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
21.	1646	16,600	13,150	(1000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
22.	1647	17,400	14,250	(2500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
23.	1648	23,800	17,900	(2500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
24.	1649	21,200	15,040	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
25.	1650	18,500	12,150	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
26.	1651	20,500	13,250	(500 *du aspa sih aspa*)
27.	1652	21,000	14,050	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
28.	1653	21,500	15,650	(5000 *due aspa sih aspa*)
29.	1657	22,100	15,830	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
30.	1658	20,000	13,425	(5000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
31.	1658-78	21,000	16,900	(6000 *du aspa sih aspa*)
32.	1679-1707	9,500	6,550	

IV. *Mansabs* held by Sisodias, C. 1593-1707[1]

Total of the *Mansab*

S.No.	Year	Zat	Sawar
1.	1593	1,500	-
2.	1595	1,500	-
3.	1605	2,200	-
4.	1606	4,000	-
5.	1615	5,000	5,000
6.	1618	5,000	5,000
7.	1627	9,000	5,000
8.	1628	11,000	10,500
9.	1629	6,800	5,700
10.	1635	10,400	7,750
11.	1637	10,900	8,000
12.	1638	5,000	2,600
13.	1643	5,000	2,500
14.	1644	5,000	2,600
15.	1645	5,500	3,100
16.	1646	8,000	4,100
17.	1647	9,700	4,900
18.	1648	11,700	5,800
19.	1650	13,200	6,700
20.	1651	13,000	9,300
21.	1652	12,500	8,500
22.	1653	13,000	8,600
23.	1654	13,500	8,800
24.	1655	13,500	10,000
25.	1656-57	14,000	7,800
26.	1657-58	16,000	8,000
27.	1658-78	17,000	9,200 (500 du aspa sih aspa)
28.	1679-1707	5,000	3,800

[1] See. *Apparatus of Empire pp. 03-345* and *Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb. pp. 175-270*

APPENDIX - C

I. Family Chart of Early Bundelas[2]

Pancham Singh (Kasiraj)
(founder of Bundela Kingdom)

|
Bir Singh
|
Khemi Chand
|
Mul Chand
|
Gokul Chand
|
Bhim Pal
|
Govind Raj
|
Bakh Raj
|
Dev Raj
|
Lonak Deo
|
Arjun Verma
|
Bichhak Deo
|
Sahab Pal
|
Arjun Pal
|
Sohan Pal
|
Nank Deo
|
Pirthi Raj
|
Ram Chand
(Ram Singh)
|
Medini Mal
|
Arjun Deo
|
Malkhan

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[2] For political details of these Bundelas see Chapter. I; *Bir charitra.* 486–87 and *Chhatra Prakash*, pp. 03–10.

II. House of Orchha
Raja Rudra Pratap (d.1631)
(S/o Malkhan and founder of Orchha)

Bharti Chand (d.1554) | Udaijit (See, House of Mahewa) | Bhupat Shah | Chandra Das | Ghan Shyam | Bhairav Das

Raja MadhukarShah (d.1692) | Kirat Shah | Abhanam Das | Durga Das | Paryag Das | Khande Rao

Raja MadhukarShah (d.1692):

Horal Deo (d. 1576) | Raja Ram Shah (see, house of chanderi) | Maharaja Bir Singh Deo (d. 1627) | Har Singh Deo

Maharaja Bir Singh Deo (d. 1627):

Raja Jujhar Singh d.1635 | Bhagwan Das (See, House of Datiya) | Chandramani (d. 1647) | Narhari Das (d.1634) | Bagh Raj | Madhao Singh (d. 1640)

Raja Pahar Singh (d. 1655) | Hardol (See, House of Bijna) | Bhagwant Rai | Kisan Singh | Beni Das | Puran Mal (d. 1666)

Raja Jujhar Singh:

Durgbhan (d. 1636) | Udaibhan (d. 1636) | Bikramajit (Jagraj) (d. 1635) | Pirthiraj (d. 1640)

Bikramajit (Jagraj) (d. 1635):

Durjan Sal (d. 1636)

Raja Pahar Singh (d. 1655):

Jugander (d. 1640) | Raja Sujan Singh (d.1668) | Raja Indramani (d. 1677) | Mitra Sen (d. 1668)

Raja Indramani (d. 1677):

Raja jaswant Singh (d. 1687)

Raja Bhagwant Singh (d. 1688)

Raja Udwat Singh (adopted)

Pirthi Singh | Diwan Amar Singh

III. House of Datiya

Bhagwan Das (d. 1640)

(S/o Maharaja Bir Singh Deo and founder of the House of Datiya)

- Rao Subhkaran (d. 1678)
  - Arjun Singh
  - Rao Dalpt (d. 1707)
    - Rao Ram Chand
    - Narayan (Pratap)
    - Bhartichand (d. 1691)
    - Pirthi Chand (b. 1692)
    - Sabhapat (b.1697)
    - Sarup Singh
    - Karan (b. 1700)
  - Anup Singh
  - Kesar Singh
  - Padam Singh
- Prithi Raj (d. 1659)

IV. House of Chanderi

Raja Ram Shah (d. 1612)

(S/o Bharti Chand of Orchha and the first Bundela Raja of Chanderi)

- Sangram Shah
  - Raja Bharat Shah (d. 1634)
    - Raja Devi Singh
      - Raja Durjan Singh

V. House of Mahewa/Panna

Udaijit
(S/o Raja Rudra Pratap of Orchha)

- Raghao Das
- Kasi Das
- Ganga Das
- Bhartichand
- Hirdai Narayan
- Premchand
  - Bhagwat Das (Raj)
    - Khadag Rai
    - Chandaju
    - Sujan Rai (d. 1661)
    - Champat Rai (d. 1661)
      - Gopal Rai
      - Maharaja Chhatrasal (d. 1631)
        - Jagat Raj
          - Pahar Singh (d. 1686)
        - Bhartichand
        - Padam Rao
        - Hirdai Shah
        - Kanwar Chand
      - Ratan Shah
      - Angad Rai
      - Sarbahan (d. 1640)
  - Kunwar Sen
  - Man Singh

VI. House of Bijna

Hardaol
(S/o Bir Singh Deo)

- Bejani Shah
  - Pratap Singh
    - Rai Singh
      - Sawat Singh
        - Ajit Singh
      - Mohkam Singh

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